

FORCED RESETTLEMENT IN GHANA: THE DAM AND THE AFFECTED PEOPLE

The Bui Hydroelectric Power Project in Ghana

Matilda Mettle



Thesis for Award of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies Specialising in Geography

Department of Geography

Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management

Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Trondheim, Norway

May 19, 2011

Dedication

To the Almighty God and King Jesus by who's Grace I have triumph.

To my dearest mother, Judith Cynthia Shorme Botchway, for your endless love and prayers that it shall be well with me.

To my sweet siblings Magnolia Mettle-Baffoe and John Nii Ayi Mettle, for believing and cheering your little sister on to victory.

To my darling nephew and niece David Baffoe and Lois Baffoe and to their father Daniel Baffoe, for the joy and laughter you have brought into my life.

To my uncles, aunties and cousins, for believing and encouraging me to go all out for greatness.

To Peter Okoe Agoe, for your love, prayers, advice and support from the start of this work to its completion, God bless you greatly.

To Professor Ragnhild Lund, for your love, patience, support, guidance and believe in me. Your supervision went beyond that of a lecturer to the sweet mother you are. Thank you for making me taste your love.

To Ing. Richard Nii Agyemfra Badger, for your love and kind assistance despite your busy schedule.

To my spiritual mothers, fathers and siblings, for your prayers and support, God bless you in all your endeavours.

To all dam affected persons around the world, especially in Ghana.

Acknowledgements

My profound appreciation and thanks goes to my maker and friend Jesus, by whose unerring Holy Spirit's leadership I have not missed my providential way.

Special gratitude and thanks goes to my knowledgeable and experienced supervisor, Professor Ragnhild Lund. Tusen Takk for impacting your wealth of wisdom and understanding on forced resettlement into this work. God richly bless you.

Special thanks also go to Irene Bisasso Hoem, for your kind assistance and advice throughout the writing and the defence of this work. God bless you greatly.

Thanks to my main 'Gatekeeper' and his friends at Bui and Akosombo. I would not have obtained the wealth of information within the short time I did if it had not been for your help. To Ing. Richard Nii Agyemfra Badger, Mr. Joe Sutherland and Mr. Osafo-Kissi, God bless you all.

Special thanks to all research participants, this work would not have materialized without your information. To Mr. Emmanuel Martey, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Kommey, Mr. E. A. Kalitsi, Mr. Wumbilah-Salifu, Sandra Kusiwaa, Edmund Akoto-Danso, Richard Twum-Barimah Koranteng, the Chiefs, elders and people of Bui, Batore, Gyama host and settlement community, Dasaase and Senchi Ferry.

Special thanks to the Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (Nordic African Institute), for the scholarship to use your resourceful library for this research.

Special thanks to NTNU globalization student travel grant for the field travel sponsorship.

Special thanks to Raphael Atanga, Yaw A. Boafo, Emmanuel A. Nartey, Eric L. Tamatey, John Albogast, Suzanne Y. Ansomaa, Michael Ogbe, Mercy Motte-Kpeglah, Emmanuel Nii Boye Quarshie, Naomi Manu and John Mettle for proofreading, editing, useful suggestions, patience in making the maps, designing and organising this work.

Am most grateful to the Norwegian Government and all Norwegians for the study scholarship and for practically caring for me for two whole years. To the officials of Lånekassen and the International Office of NTNU for processing all necessary documents and entitlements for this programme which made my stay conducive and brought this work to a fulfilling end.

My heartfelt gratitude also goes to all lecturers and the Mphil coordination team at the Geography Department of NTNU, Dragvoll. Thank you for the love, knowledge and push to come through successfully with the two years studies and especially this thesis. Takk skal du ha.

Declaration

I, Matilda Mettle confirm that this thesis is a product of my own research work and effort, in the Volta River Authority, the Bui Power Authority, Bui village, Gyama New settlement, Senchi Ferry Town and Dassase settlement in Ghana. It has not been used for any project or award by any individual, institution or organization. All information sourced from other works in writing this thesis has been duly acknowledged and appreciated.

Abstract

Forced resettlement is an issue of great humanitarian concern. The disruption it brings to the lives of the people it affects cannot be fully expressed. Many of such people lose the ability of restoring their lives, never to regain it till they die. What is more alarming is when forced resettlement is not caused by conflict or natural disaster but rather conscious development projects like dams, where it is expected that great energy will be channelled towards reducing and if possible avoid the adverse impacts of such forceful resettlement as a matter of human and citizenship right. Sadly, in many instances this never happen.

The aim of this study is to find out how the lessons learnt from the Akosombo forced resettlement in Ghana has been used in planning and implementing the on-going Bui forced resettlement also in Ghana. This study also tries to investigate the impacts of the planning and implementation process of the resettlement on the affected communities and households.

In order to achieve the above goals, qualitative research methods were employed. The study used in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, direct and participatory observation techniques in accessing the experiences and feelings of the people involved. The informants include the institutions and professionals which undertook the forced resettlement and the affected people. The modernisation and alternative development theories were reviewed to determine which of these approaches is in practice. However, since Ghana claims it is using the World Bank Operational Policy (4.12), which is following an alternative development approach, concepts such as participation and rights are used. Additionally, concepts such as compensation and forced resettlement are also reviewed.

It is discovered that, although many lessons have been learnt from the Akosombo forced resettlement, these lessons have not been effectively translated into action plans in order to undertake successful forced resettlement in Ghana. The challenges and errors in planning the Bui resettlement have therefore marred its successful implementation. This has resulted in more adverse impacts on the affected people than good ones such as infertile lands, low farm yield, poor housing structures and total ban on fishing in the Black Volta without alternative fishing grounds.

KEY WORDS: Forced Resettlement, Lessons Learnt, Compensation, Participation, Livelihoods

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB	African Development Bank
BHP	Bui Hydropower Project
BPA	Bui Power Authority
CDAS	Community Development Assistants
CRAB	Regional Commission against Large Dams
DFID	Department for International Development
DID	Development-Induced Displacement
DIDPs	Development-Induced Displaced Person's
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ERM	Environment Resource Management
FMO	Forced Migration Online
GDD	Ghana Dams Dialogue
GHA	Ghana Highway Authority
GLVB	Ghana Land Valuation Board
IDPs	Internally Displaced Person's
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non Governmental Organisation
KM	kilometre

KVIP	Kumasi Vented Indirect Pit Latrine
LED	Livelihood Enhancement Programme
MW	Mega Watts
NAI	Nordiska Afrikainstitutete
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NTNU	Norwegian University of Science and Technology
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OP	Operational Policy
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RAP	Resettlement Action Plan
RPF	Resettlement Planning Framework
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollars
VRA	Volta River Authority
VRP	Volta River Project
WCD	World Commission on Dams
WRM	World Rainforest Movement

Glossary

<i>Dagaaba</i>	An ethnic group in the Northern region of Ghana
<i>Nifahene</i>	Literally means right wing chief and next in command after the paramount chief
<i>Asantihene</i>	The paramount chief of the Asanti kingdom
<i>Twi</i>	The most commonest local language in Ghana
<i>Global South</i>	Used to designate economically developing, poor or poorer countries.
<i>Gatekeepers</i>	Individuals and institutions which help researchers access information.
<i>Traditional Area</i>	A geographical area with people of common ancestry. However, if the region is very large, it is divided for easy governance. In such situations there is a paramount chief who is the superior to all the other sub-chiefs and the people.
<i>First Settlers</i>	These are communities or people who are first to be moved from their place of habitation for a dam construction to start. They include settlements located at the exact place or the immediate surroundings of the area a dam is to be located.
<i>Commander Jackson</i>	A special commissioner of the Preparatory Commission, which analysed the potential of the aluminium company and the Volta River Project
<i>Self-help housing</i>	This was an approach proposed by Commander Jackson as a means of engaging the affected people in the resettlement process during the Akosombo project. Mainly, it involved the affected people building their own houses with but with technical and material assistance from the government and government officials involved in the resettlement.
<i>Albert Kitson</i>	Is an Australian geologist who first discovered bauxite in Ghana.
<i>Community</i>	A group of people living in a particular geographical area and who share common ownership of certain resources
<i>Household</i>	People who share a common shelter or living space, have the same or similar economy and have access to the same or similar resources. These people are usually connected by blood.

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Declaration.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	vi
Glossary	viii
List of Figures.....	xiii
List of Tables	xiii
PART I: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY	1
Chapter One: General Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2.1 Forced Resettlement in the Global South	1
1.2.2 Prelude to State Forced Resettlement in Ghana.....	4
1.2.3 Rationale of Study.....	5
1.2.4 Knowledge Gaps	7
1.3 Research Objective and Research Questions	8
1.4 Structure of the Study.....	8
PART II: STUDY AREA, THEORY, AND METHODS OF STUDY.....	10
2 Chapter Two: Description of Study Areas	10

2.1	Introduction and the Selection of Sites	10
2.2	Indigenous Communities.....	11
2.2.1	Gyama Host Community	11
2.2.2	Senchi Ferry Town.....	12
2.2.3	Bui Village.....	12
2.3	Migrant Communities	13
2.3.1	Gyama New Settlement	13
2.3.2	Dasaase Settlement	13
2.4	Conclusion.....	14
3	Chapter Three: Methods of Research	17
3.1	Introduction	17
3.2	Why Qualitative Methodology.....	17
3.3	In the Field	18
3.3.1	Methods in Selecting Informants.....	19
3.3.2	Breaking the Ice but Keeping to Ethics with Informants.....	20
3.3.3	Approaches to Producing and Collecting Data (Interviews and Observations)	21
3.3.4	Photography	24
3.3.5	Secondary Data	24
3.3.6	Recording and Storing Data.....	25
3.3.7	Data Viability and Quality	25

3.4	After Field Work (Analyzing and Interpretating Data).....	27
3.5	Conclusion.....	27
4	Chapter Four: Theories and Concepts	28
4.1	Introduction	28
4.2	Theory in Practice (Modernisation versus Alternative Development Theory) ...	28
4.3	The Nature of Forced Resettlement (Development-Induced Displacement [DID])	30
4.4	The Right to Participate.....	34
4.5	Compensating Livelihoods Losses During and After Forced Resettlement	38
4.6	Analytical Framework.....	41
	PART III: DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDS	43
5	Chapter Five: History of State Forced Resettlements in Ghana.....	43
5.1	Introduction	43
5.2	The River Volta.....	43
5.3	Inception of State Forced Resettlements in Ghana: Damongo and Tema Settlements	44
5.4	The Volta River Project (VRP)	45
5.5	Lessons Learnt from the Akosombo resettlement in Ghana	49
5.6	The Bui Hydroelectric Power Project (BHP).....	52
6	Chapter Six: Evaluating the Planning and Implementation Process of the Bui RPF ...	55
6.1	Introduction	55

6.2	The Right to Private Property, Eminent Domain and the Payment of Compensation.....	56
6.3	Assistance to Restore or Improve Livelihoods	65
6.4	Consultation and Participation	71
6.5	Sustainable Development Programs with Investment Resources	78
6.6	Concluding Discussion.....	85
7	Chapter Seven: Socio-Economic Impacts of the RPF at Community and Household Levels	90
7.1	Introduction	90
7.2	Power Structure between Host and Settler Communities (Chieftaincy).....	90
7.3	Communal Resources (Properties).....	94
7.4	Changes in the Demographic Structure and Gender Roles	98
7.5	Livelihood Transformations	99
7.6	Concluding Discussion.....	101
8	Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Suggestions.....	103
8.1	Research Challenges and Potential Research Areas	106
	References	108
	Appendix 1: A Structured Open-Ended Questions and Interview Guide (Bui)	113
	Appendix 2: The Bui Compensation Matrix	118
	Appendix 3: A document showing the Right of Entry	120
	Appendix 4: A Document Showing the Temporal Relocation of the First Settlers	121

Appendix 5: A News Paper Report of a Dispute between a Host and Settler Community 122

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Bui resettlement programme and study area.....	15
Figure 2: Communities studied under the Akosombo resettlement.....	16
Figure 3: Analytical framework.....	41
Figure 4: From left, a two room resettlement house, a clinic and a primary school complex funded by the VRA resettlement Trust Fund at Dasaase (Senchi Resettlement Town).	49
Figure 5: From left, the Black Volta River flowing through the forest at the Bui gorge, the Bui dam under construction and the Bui village preparing to be resettled.....	53
Figure 6: A map showing the three dams, the Tema and Damongo settlements and the Volta Rivers in Ghana.....	54
Figure 7: From left a house under construction for phase ‘B’ at Bui, next a model of the house planned to be constructed and the third is a two room apartment with detached kitchen and bath at Gyama settlement.....	80
Figure 8: From left, a bore hole at Gyama New Settlement, the 24 seats toilet at Gyama New Settlement and the third is a bore hole provided at Dasaase under the Akosombo resettlement .	82
Figure 9: From left, nursery school at the Gyama New settlement, VRA resettlement trust fund primary school complex and a clinic provided at Dasaase (Senchi) resettlement under the Akosombo project.	83

List of Tables

Table 1: An estimated statistics of state organised forced resettlement programmes in Ghana...	5
Table 2: Categories of affected people eligible to compensation	57

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

According to Mikkelsen (2005), issues in development cooperation change and so are the methods adjusted and scrapped, while new ones are invented as lessons are being learnt. In the light of this statement, the present study attempts to evaluate the planning and implementation process of the forced resettlement on-going at Bui in Ghana and its impact on the affected communities and households. The evaluation of the planning process of Bui Hydroelectric Power Project (BHP) is carried out by assessing the Bui Resettlement Planning Framework (RPF) through the lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlement under the Volta dam project in Ghana, the World Bank's operational policies on involuntary resettlement (4.12) and the Ghanaian Law Requirements on resettlements. These three criteria were used because these were what the RPF used as a guide in order to undertake a successful forced resettlement at Bui.

1.2 Background of the Study

1.2.1 Forced Resettlement in the Global South

According to Forced Migration Online (FMO, 2010), forced resettlement, depending on the cause, may be categorized under three main headings. First, disaster induced, second, conflict induced and lastly, development induced displacement. This forced resettlement study comes under development-induced displacement (DID). However, for the purpose of this study, both terms, forced resettlement and DID will be used interchangeably. The terms are used to refer specifically to those people who have been displaced from one location and resettled in another for hydropower generation purpose within Ghana.

Differentiating between refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and forced resettlers, refugees may be said to be people who have moved out of their own country due to persecution and violence and are unwilling or unable to return to it. On the other hand, forced resettlers may be said to include displaced persons who have been allocated a specific area within their own country in which to resettle and who have been provided with at least a

minimum of resources and services in order to re-establish their lives (De Wet, (2006). Turton (2006) prefers the use of ‘forced resettlement’ rather than DID due to the fact that the term is used to refer to those groups of people who have been resettled by government politically motivated programmes which use resettlement as a technique of rural development and political control (as used in Tanzania, Ethiopia, and South Africa). Therefore, unlike refugees, forced resettlers have no choice about leaving their homes and do not have any hope of returning to them. However, it is possible to plan for the move of forced resettlers well in advance. Authorities undertaking forced resettlement can therefore take steps to ensure that the impacts of the move on the affected persons are minimised and the standard of living of the settlers is improved, or at least maintained.

On another hand, IDPs, of which forced resettlers are included, are less visible than refugees who cross international boundaries, they receive less support, and have not been studied to the same extent (Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009). IDPs according to De Wet (2006, p. 29) “are an imprecise category of displaced people. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) defines IDPs as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border”. De Wet (2006) has therefore classified IDPs as other forced migrants compelled by authorities or disaster to resettle to new areas or safer zones, whether they want to or not, and, short of resisting, they have effectively had no say in the matter but are still found in their home country.

Forced resettlement causes severe impacts on the lives of IDPs. These impacts include direct displacement, inundation of rich farmlands, villages and grazing grounds, sedimentation of river beds, degradation of soils, endangered freshwater habitats; spread of vector born diseases, stress and trauma, poor governance and management practices, even ethnic cleansing; and lack of access to land and resources at the new settlements (Lund, 2009).

During the past few decades, local communities have faced the consequences of the establishment of infrastructure development such as dams, agricultural projects, national parks, city and urban expansion. Although these development projects are considered to be of national

interest, they have been in competition with local communities for access to land and land related resources. The development projects have marginalized local communities excluding them from ancient areas and relocating or forcing them to look for alternative land in marginal areas (De Wet, 2006).

Development projects requiring already occupied land involve varying degrees of forced resettlement (Cernea, 2004). Infrastructural development projects and associated development programmes seem to be one of the main sources of environment problems, thus posing a danger of social unrest. For instance in Brazil, community activists formed the regional commission against large dams (CRAB), which remained as evidence to people affected by resettlement (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993).

A few guarantees and legal rules have been formulated and implemented to protect development-induced displaced persons (DIDPs). These rules are provided for in international human rights laws and entitlements under the domestic legal system if the state is a signatory to international human rights law. Hence, when government fails to enforce protection it is taken to mean that the state does not protect their marginalised population, due to racial discrimination or because they set business interest above those of disadvantaged groups. This situation is generated because forced resettlers generally remain in their country of origin and their legal protection should theoretically be guaranteed by the government. Yet the same government is responsible for their displacement (Barutciski as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet 2009). Lund (2009), therefore, calls for a clear distinction to be made between the refugee regime and situations of displacement, especially when the displacement is caused by development projects.

Forced resettlement is a problem-oriented field of academic enquiry that potentially combines the study of political, environmental and developmental displacement (De Wet, 2006). The research divide between the study of refugees and forced resettlement is a debatable one. Turton (2006) suggests that the best way out of this difficulty is to think of forced migrants as 'ordinary people', or 'purposive actors', embedded in particular social, political and historical situation.

According to the World Bank (as cited in Lund, 2009), dam projects have displaced people since the 1950's by reconstruction after the Second World War in Western countries. Similarly, newly independent countries such as Ghana experienced development-related

displacement. However, during the last two decades, the magnitude of forced displacements caused by development programmes reached 10 million people each year or some 200 million people globally (Cernea, 2004). Resettlement guidelines and resettlement policies in a number of countries, states and multilateral organisations, have been formulated thus improving forced resettlement outcomes, for example, projects in China (Picciot et al. as cited in De Wet, 2006). Globally, China has been identified as having the largest portion of DID projects. For instance, the Three Gorges Dam is the world's largest hydropower project. It is claimed that the project displaced more than 1.2 million people from 13 cities, 140 towns and 1,350 villages. Furthermore, the length of the reservoir stretch more than 600 kilometres. However, various sources claim that the project was marred by corrupt practices, human rights violations, environmental challenges and resettlement difficulties (International Rivers, 2011). Other countries with similar problems in Asia are Indonesia and Sri Lanka. Although Latin America and the Caribbean are less affected when compared to Asia, these regions have nevertheless experienced a large number of controversial resettlement operations. For example the Tucuru dam project in Brazil, the Chixoy in Guatemala and the Aleman dam project in Mexico displaced particularly Indian populations (Lund, 2009).

In Africa, DID have affected lower populations and territories than in Asia. However, DID affect larger land areas in Africa than in Asia. In Ghana, the Akosombo dam flooded about 3.5 per cent of Ghana's total land mass while the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam covers 0.01 per cent of India's land mass (Lund, 2009). In Africa other examples include the Kariba project in Zambia and the Aswan dam in Egypt and Sudan. An estimation of the total number of people displaced by dam projects (including the Bui dam) in Ghana is about 100,216,000. Seventeen potential sites for hydropower generation on the Black Volta, White Volta, Oti, Tano and Pra Rivers have been identified in Ghana including Bui (Gordon, 2006). Although the dams from these sites will be smaller than the Akosombo dam, it is evident that forced resettlement comes with adverse impacts no matter the number of people involved.

1.2.2 Prelude to State Forced Resettlement in Ghana

Forced resettlements in Ghana may be divided into two parts; state and private firm organised resettlements. The state organised resettlement began in the 1950's. The reason for state

organised resettlement has been development. There have thus been projects such as construction of harbour, roads and dams and the decongestion of a local community. Regarding state resettlements in Ghana, much research work has been done on those caused by dams than the other development projects. Comparing the state and the private institutions, much research has been done on state organised resettlements than of private organisations. There are three dams (including Bui) in Ghana which has resulted in forced resettlement. The Kpong dam which is the third is not included in this thesis because its resettlement component was undertaken by VRA, an autonomous state institution. A much detailed description of state forced resettlement and its impact in Ghana has been given in chapter five of this research work.

Table 1: An estimated statistics of state organised forced resettlement programmes in Ghana¹

Resettlement	Reason for Displacement	Number of Households displaced	Number of communities displaced	Number of people affected	Number of years used
Damongo	Over population	149	1	-	1956-1958
Tema	Harbour	600	1	12,000	1953-1959
Akosombo	Dam	15,000	740	80,000	1965-1968
Bui	Dam	219	7	1216	2008-2013
Total	4	15,968	749	93,216	16

Source: Researcher's own construct (2011).

1.2.3 Rationale of Study

Reconciling the need of developing countries to improve their physical infrastructure with the protection of the rights and interest of the people to be displaced is a great issue which, until recently, few countries were prepared to address (Cernea & Guggenheim, 1993). Moreover, how best this is done is another issue of great concern which is one key reason for this thesis since Ghana has realised the need to undertake successful forced resettlement. Cernea and

¹ The numbers are estimates and not the true situation. Bui is still under construction and there could be delays.

Guggenheim (1993) have forecasted that the challenge of solving the resettlement dilemma can grow with rising populations, growing economies, and increasing land scarcity. This is exactly the situation today especially with developing countries and growing economies of the global south which Ghana is not exempted.

International concern over resettlement has largely focused on internationally financed projects, yet internationally financed development projects typically account for only a small proportion of development activities in any given country (*Ibid*). Current trends show a huge decrease in multilateral and bilateral organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank financing development project. Rather there has been a huge increase in countries financing development projects of other countries. In this case the Bui dam is a good example with China's Exim Bank and the government of China financing the project. Many donor institutions including the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), IMF and African Development Bank (ADB) have drawn on the World Bank's guidelines on involuntary resettlement in formulating their own policies. The World Bank has advocated an important policy standard, namely, the impoverishment of a displaced population should not be considered inevitable (De Wet, 2006). Could this be one of the reasons why developing nations do not source for funds from these organisations for development projects any longer? Are the standards too high or unrealistic? Using the World Bank's Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement as a standard for planning and implementing the Bui resettlement, the RPF will give us insights into the practicality of the World Bank's policies on involuntary resettlement. It will also help us know whether conscious efforts were made to utilize these guidelines to the benefit of the affected people or whether the usage of the World Bank guidelines on involuntary resettlement was just lip service paid to satisfy the conscience of the planners.

De Wet (2000, p. 2) has explained that usually due to competing sets of interest, resettlement brings the issue of 'winners' and 'losers' sharply into focus. He raised the dilemma the issue brings: which is 'if somebody has to lose, how are we to choose who that is to be?' He questioned, 'what role are issues of equity to play in deciding what the balance of benefits is to be? In view of these questions De Wet suggested that a model of successful resettlement should embody two kinds of factors. Firstly, processual elements, or 'elements which are (or should be)

an inherent part of the resettlement process (*planning*), and secondly, the way in which it unfolds sustainable outcomes, resulting from the '*process*' (emphasis mine). These two important elements of resettlement are what this study tries to evaluate with respect to the Bui RPF.

De Wet (2006) indicated that the very things needed to make resettlement work, such as money, staff, skills and critically time, are often lacking or insufficient in the planning and implementation of resettlements. Hence, evaluating the RPF planning and implementation processes would help determine how some of these ingredients have been used at Bui to reduce the adverse impact of the dam on the affected people. Furthermore, Kalitsi (2003) has noted that the construction of dams to create reservoirs for hydropower developments always results in changes in the natural ecosystem. To ensure that these projects are beneficial to society, it is important to assess and manage the social and environmental impacts of such developments. Kalitsi suggested that in order to properly mitigate the environmental and social concerns of hydropower developments in Ghana, the lessons from the Akosombo hydropower should be applied at Bui. Hence, this study seeks to find out how best these lessons learnt from Akosombo have been utilized. The foregoing is indicative of the need to undertake this research because the outcome will help determine the areas in forced resettlement in Ghana which still needs improvement.

1.2.4 Knowledge Gaps

I am yet to come across a literature on the Bui resettlement which has specifically assessed its planning and implementation processes. Almost all research works on the BHP, have focused either on the planning, implementation process or their combination. These researchers mostly do not strictly use the guidelines or rules used in the planning and implementation of the Bui resettlements. This situation may give room for the planners and implementers of the resettlement programme to argue that the standard used in assessing their work was not what they used hence the findings are unreliable. To avoid this and contribute meaningfully to building knowledge on forced resettlement in Ghana, this study evaluates the RPF based on the Ghanaian Law Requirements for resettlement, the World Bank Operational Policies on Involuntary Resettlement (4.12) and lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlement programme which served as guide in drafting the RPF.

The only researcher who has done something similar to this research work has been Sutcliffe (2009). Sutcliffe compared the finds from interviews she conducted among the affected areas and people with the recommendations of the Environmental and Social Impact Assessment (ESIA), the Environmental and Social Management Plan (ESMP) and RPF, all submitted by ERM in January 2007.

This study evaluates the planning and implementation process of the Bui resettlement using the documents mentioned above which served as guide in drafting the RPF. In addition, using empirical evidence from an Akosombo settlement, Dasaase, and some affected areas at Bui, this study attempts to assess the potential long and short term impacts of the RPF planning and implementation process at Bui on the communities and households affected.

1.3 Research Objective and Research Questions

The objective of this study is to evaluate the Resettlement Planning Framework for Bui (RPF) and its implementation process as well as its impacts on the affected people. This will be done with reference to the guidelines used in planning for the Bui resettlements in order to avoid the mistakes of Akosombo as well as empirical evidence from the field.

Against this background, I ask the following research question:

1. How did the RPF utilize the World Banks Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement (4.12), the Ghanaian Law Requirement on resettlement and lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlements in planning for the Bui resettlements?

Furthermore, much is not known about the impacts of resettlement on communities and households (families and individuals) at the planning and implementation stages of resettlement processes at Bui. In the light of this, I ask:

2. What are the potential impacts (long and short term) of the Bui Dam on the affected communities and households (families and individuals)?

1.4 Structure of the Study

This thesis is composed of eight chapters structured around three main parts. The description of these parts and chapters follows the order of appearance in the thesis. Part one includes chapter one of the study which gives a general introduction and a thorough background of the study

focusing on the Global South and Ghana. Part one further covers the main rationale for the study; the knowledge gaps on forced resettlement at Bui; the main research objective and the research questions the study seeks to address.

Part two is made up of chapters two, three and four. This part is the transformative stage. Here the abstract, research ideas, problem statement and objectives of the study in part one are processed into reality. Chapter two describes the study areas giving an outlook on where the issues under study can be found. Chapter three reflects on the methodological aspects. It explains the quality and validity of the research methodological approaches used to gain information for this study. Finally, chapter three gives the basic theories and concepts underpinning the study. The chapter also explains an analytical framework constructed to analyse the data gathered to attain the set objective and to answer the research questions.

Finally, part three is made up of chapters five, six, seven and eight. Chapter five gives a brief historical perspective of state organised forced resettlement in Ghana, with much detail information on the Akosombo and Bui hydroelectric power projects and their resettlement components. Chapter six is the main analysis of this study which evaluates the planning and implementation process of the Bui Resettlement Planning Framework (RPF). Chapter seven attempts an assessment of the potential long and short term impacts of the RPF's planning and implementation processes on the affected communities and households. Lastly, chapter eight gives the final conclusions and suggestions on the study. It also points out some of the challenges of this study and potential areas for further studies.

PART II: STUDY AREA, THEORY, AND METHODS OF STUDY

2 Chapter Two: Description of Study Areas

2.1 Introduction and the Selection of Sites

The area under study is the region affected by the Bui dam. The affected communities in this area are seven, namely, Bui (Bui village and Bui Camp), Bator Ankanyakrom, Dokokyina, Lucene, Agbegikuro, Dam Site and Agbelikame (North and South). However, due to the resettlement programme, these villages and camp have been grouped into three and according to resettlement phases A, B and C. At the time of my visit Phase A had already been settled as Gyama new settlement which include the villages of Brewohodi, Agbegikuro, Dam Site, Agbelikame (North and South) and Lucene. Phase B includes the villages of Bui, Bator Ankanyakrom and Dokokyina. While Phase C covers Bui Camp.

In the field, Bui Village, Gyama New Settlement and Gyama Host Community were visited and interviews and observational studies conducted. These three villages under the BHP project were selected for this study due to the following reasons: Bui village was at the preparatory stages of the resettlement process and was easily accessible with a very small population of 32 households of a total of 142 people. Due to Bui Village's easy accessibility and limited population and area size, it was easy to have 12 people for a focus group discussion as well as an interview with the chief and elders of the village. Gyama New Settlement was about five minutes drive from the Bui Village. Although Gyama New Settlement is made up of previously four distinct communities, the total population was 205 of 50 households. It was also easy to conduct interviews at Gyama new settlement with some of the elders in the community and to organise a focus group discussion with 12 members of the community. Gyama Host Community is adjacent to the Gyama New Settlement. There is no defined boundary between these communities they look like one community at a glance. However, the striking difference is the housing structures and alignment difference which will cause one to ask about the difference. Due to the close proximity, it was easy to conduct interviews with the chief and some elders of Gyama Host Community as well. These three communities were the focus of the study because they are the only communities which have had an experience of the planning and resettlement process of the BHP using the RPF. Since the study attempts to evaluate the planning and

implementation process of the RPF as well as its impacts, it was essential that the experiences of the community at the planning stage, those in the settlements and the host community are gathered.

However, Dasaase settlement and Senchi Ferry community (the host community of Dasaase) under the Akosombo resettlement were also visited to gain empirical evidence. These two communities were included to help assess the possible long term impacts of the forced resettlement on the affected people under the Bui resettlement project. Furthermore, Dasaase and Senchi communities also share border and are like one community from an ordinary look. These communities are also not large and it was possible to go around and observe each community in one hour. Five interviews were conducted in these communities, first with the chiefs, then two elders one from each of these communities and finally, an elderly woman from Dasaase.

Two types of communities were identified in the field out of the five communities visited. They are indigenous and migrant communities. The indigenous communities are those who own the land in which they are living through inheritance from their forefathers. These communities are three namely, Bui Village, Gyama Host Community and Senchi Ferry Town. The migrant communities are those who have moved from their original homeland to another area in search of livelihood or due to resettlement. Such communities therefore rent lands and pay royalties to the land owners for using their resources. They are two and include Gyama New Settlement and Dasaase Settlement.

The following is a description of the five communities studied grouped under a migrant or an indigenous community.

2.2 Indigenous Communities

2.2.1 Gyama Host Community

Gyama host community has a population of about 600 people. The population consists of Dagaabas, Ewes and Bonos. The main occupation of the people are farming and trading. The community has a health post, basic school, 2 bore-holes and electricity. The road running through the community is untarred and there were no drainage channels in the community. There is a traditional ruler in charge of governance in the community. Gyama is in the Bole District of the Northern region of Ghana.

2.2.2 Senchi Ferry Town

Senchi Ferry Town is located in the Asuogyaman District of the Eastern Region of Ghana. Between 1920 and 1956 Senchi Ferry Town was a busy town with many activities because it served as a ferry port connecting Southern Ghana to Northern Ghana via the Volta River. The Tema-Akosombo highway established between 1952 and 1953 led to the relocation of the ferry station at Akosombo, causing an abrupt end to the numerous activities in the area. Senchi is a semi-urban area with a population of approximately 1700 people. The main occupations in the area are farming and trading. Other occupations include driving, carpentry, teaching and hairdressing. The community has an untarred road running through it which joins the Tema – Akosombo highway at its northern end. Many of the youth in the area have migrated to Accra and other regional capitals in search of better jobs. Electricity is now being connected to the community but there is a health centre and portable water in the community. There are a few nursery, basic and junior high schools in the area as well. About 95 percent of all children of school going age are in school. The area has a traditional leader who is the Nifahene and successor to the Akwamu Traditional paramount Chief out of the 17 areas which form the Akwamu traditional area.

2.2.3 Bui Village

Bui Village has a population of about 142 people of 32 households with an average household of 4.4 persons. The major occupations in the village are farming, fishing, livestock rearing and trading. There are no drainage channels, electricity, roads, portable water and health centre in the area except a basic school. There is a traditional ruler who governs the daily affairs of the community. The Bui Village is in the Tain District of the Brong-Ahafo region. Many of the houses in the community were built from mud and thatch. Only a few were partly built with cement blocks. The people of Bui Village are indigenes in the affected area of the BHP and even after resettlement will not have a host community because they are going to be resettled on part of their own indigenous land.

2.3 Migrant Communities

2.3.1 Gyama New Settlement

Gyama New Settlement is made up of the former communities of Dam site, Lucene, Brewohodi, Agbelikame (North and South) and Agbegikuro. These former communities were migrant communities in the traditional area. These communities have now been settled within Gyama Host Community as Gyama New Settlement. Being migrants, formerly, they were located at the outskirts of the Gyama Host Community and they paid homage, rent and royalties to the Gyama chief. These communities were categorised as phase A because they were settled in the area the dam was to be constructed. Therefore if they were not resettled, construction work on the dam could not commence. Additionally, these communities were very small, hence, the ease in grouping them as one settlement. Together they are a population of about two hundred and five people of about fifty households. There is a diverse range of ethnicity in the community: there are Bono, Ewe and Dagaaba. The people are farmers, fishermen and traders² but these economic activities have almost been brought to an end because of the resettlement and the dam construction. Gyama New Settlement has about fifty housing units which are made up of mainly two bedroom houses with a detached kitchen and bath. The settlement has electricity, two boreholes, a twenty four seat Kumasi Vented Indirect Pit Latrine (KVIP), a community centre and a two block nursery school provided by Bui Power Authority (BPA). However, there were no drainage systems and health post in the settlement. All the houses in the settlement were built with cement blocks and roofed with aluminium sheet. The settlement has leaders who see to its daily affairs. These leaders were elected by the people in the settlement. Members of the settlement still pay allegiance to the Gyama chief as they did before the resettlement because they are still living on Gyama land even after the resettlement.

2.3.2 Dasaase Settlement

The Senchi Resettlement Township is made up of Apaaso, Dasaase and Awurahae settlements. The resettlement township is adjacent to the main Senchi Ferry Town which is the host

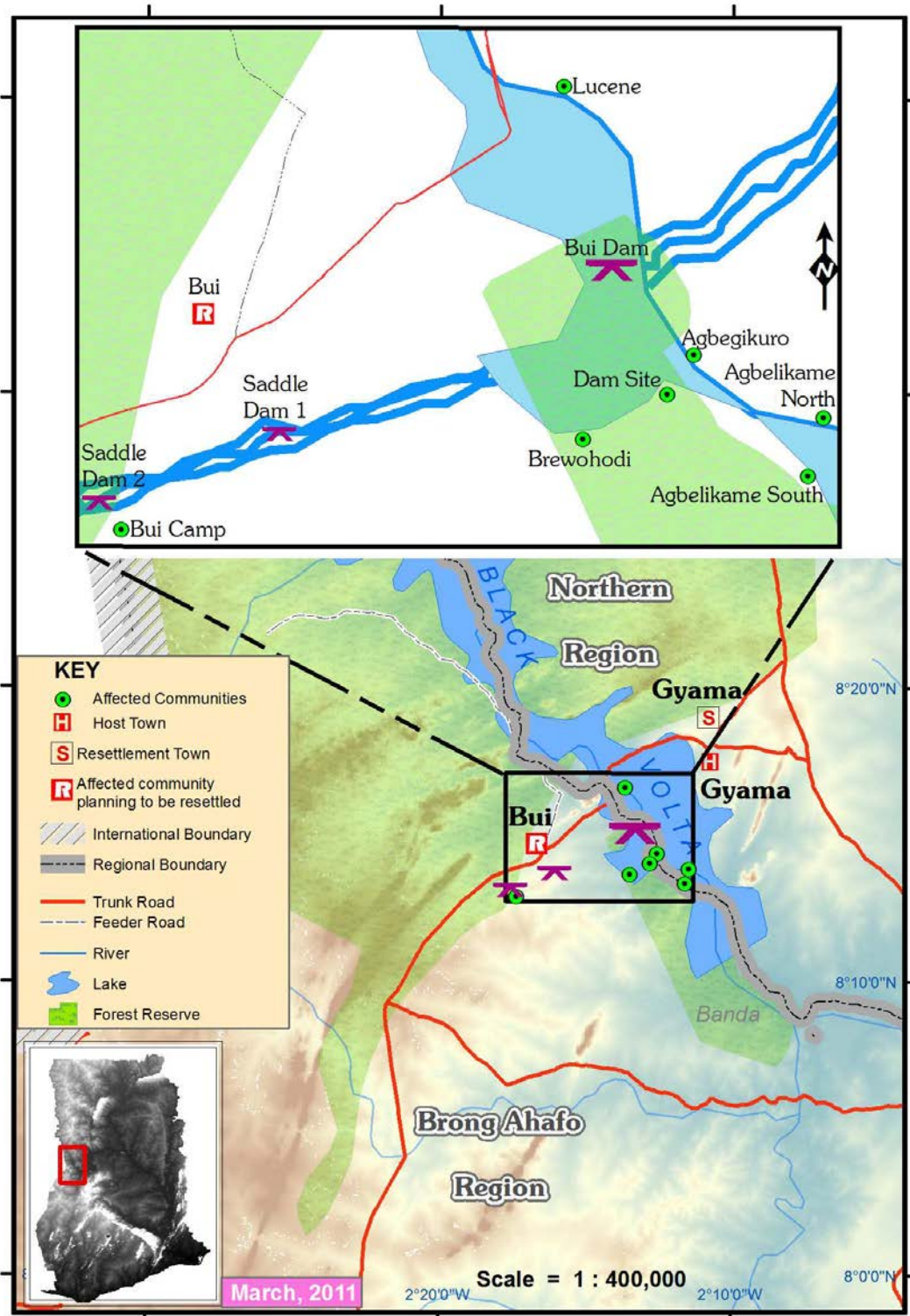
² The communities around the BHP all trade in processed and unprocessed farm produce such as gari and processed fish which could be smoked, dried or salted)

community. Interviews for this study were conducted at the Dasaase section of the resettlement area. This resettlement area was created in 1963 and the people were moved from Jekiti area. Farming is the main occupation in the area and all the inhabitants of Dasaase have to hire farmlands from their host community. There are no rules on how much the rent of a plot of land cost when hiring. Settlers of Dasaase therefore pay rent on farmlands in accordance with the price of the land owner. The population of the area is about thousand people mainly children and the aged. The population of youth is limited because many have travelled to the national capital Accra, and other regional capitals such as Kumasi and Koforidua in search of jobs. The roads in the area are poor and untarred. There is no electricity in the area but there is a private clinic and a dilapidated eye clinic established by the settlers. There is a public place of convenience established by a philanthropist because the one provided during resettlement is out of order. Individual households have tap water but there are no common use taps in the settlements. The relics of the bore holes and public place of convenience provided during the resettlement are found in the area. Many of the settlement houses have been rehabilitated by individuals who have the means to do so. There is a basic school provided by the Volta River Authority (VRA) Trust Fund. The area has a traditional ruler who governs the daily affairs of the community.

2.4 Conclusion

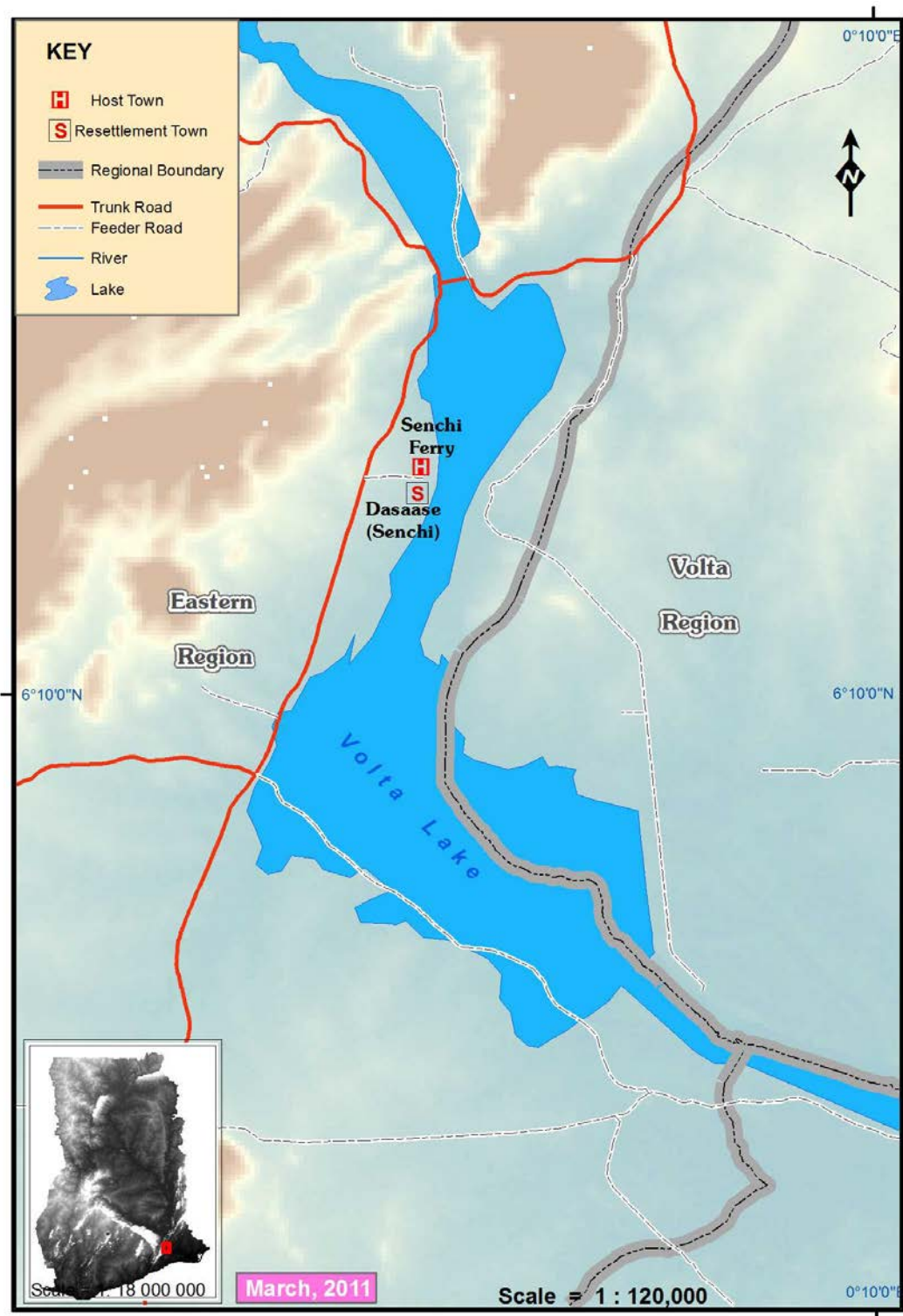
The diversity of stages of resettlement in the study areas offers the possibility to properly assess the planning and resettlement process. This also gives the study grounds to predict the future of the on-going resettlement at Bui. An important finding in the study areas is the issue of ‘first settlers’ and that of settlements created on indigenous and foreign lands. I realised that communities resettled on foreign lands have many challenges which inhibit the ability of displaced communities to restore and possibly improve their lives than communities resettled on their indigenous lands. Likewise, first settlers are also exposed to great danger of poor planning and preparation before resettlement. This situation challenges first settlers’ ability to get good compensation to restore and improve their lives after being forcefully resettled. These observations and realisations will be explained in detail in the analysis chapter.

Figure 1: The Bui resettlement programme and study area



Source: Researchers' own construct (2011).

Figure 2: Communities studied under the Akosombo resettlement



Source: Researchers' own construct (2011).

3 Chapter Three: Methods of Research

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into various sections which explain how valid data were accessed in order to answer the research questions to achieve the objective of this research. One of the important lessons learnt in the field is that, knowledge from books is not an exact reflection of reality, hence, the need to be flexible when planning for field study. This is important in overcoming unforeseen challenges and to take up opportunities for learning and producing knowledge during fieldwork. As stated by Mikkelsen (2005, p.48), “field study is a learning process, and in the process new questions may arise which require analysis, sometimes by unthought-of methods”.

The following sections in this chapter explains how I ensured that the knowledge and findings produced in this study are not to a great extent my perceptions and interpretations of the situation in the field but information provided by the informants. However, my perceptions and knowledge complement and facilitate my understanding of the informants in the field. The experiences, feelings and situation as expressed and revealed in the field have been carefully included in the analysis chapters. The set of structured open-ended questions and interview guide used in the field for the different categories of informants are attached in appendix 1.

3.2 Why Qualitative Methodology

I used the qualitative methodology approach in this study because the study focuses on the planning and implementation process of the Bui RPF and its impacts on the affected people. As such there is the need to know and understand why and how the affected people feel, think and behave based on their experiences regarding the RPF planning and implementation process. Workers in the institutions who undertook these programmes or working with resettlement were also interviewed to know their knowledge on forced resettlement in Akosombo and Bui. Hence, informants needed to freely express their views, feelings and share their experiences which are some of the advantages and goals qualitative methodology attempts to achieve (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Tesch (as cited in Kitchin & Tate 2000) has categorized the different approaches identified in undertaking qualitative research into three broad categories namely, language-oriented approaches, descriptive/interpretative approach and theory-building approaches. Kitchin

and Tate (2000) observed that many of these approaches also overlap or are synonyms of others, and the fact that these perspectives have been grouped together as qualitative in nature suggest that they share common attributes. Using Tesch's broad classifications this study comes under the descriptive/interpretative approach. This is because the study seeks to bring out the nature of the planning, implementation and impacts of the RPF on the affected people. This will be done by outlining what the RPF as well as its guidelines states. Furthermore, the situation on the ground during the planning and implementation process of the Bui resettlement and their consequential effects will be described, interpreted and evaluated during analysis. After these descriptions, interpretations and evaluations, conclusions will be drawn and suggestions made.

3.3 In the Field

According to Mikkelsen (2005, p.48), "field study designates systematic investigation of social situations and social change. Although seeking to answer certain questions in a systematic way, field study does not follow strictly predetermined route of enquiry". However, this study being an assessment of a new project based on the experience of a previous similar project, I began my field study from Akosombo (the known) before going to Bui (the unknown) although Bui is the main study area. This approach helped me to cross-examine the questions I had predetermined before going into the field. This ensured that I asked the most important questions concerning the planning and implementation process of forced resettle in Ghana as this research work tries to examine. It also helped me to identify some of the challenging impacts of the Akosombo forced resettlement after forty five before going to Bui. This helped me rephrase some of my questions and to formulate new areas of enquiry, especially regarding the impact assessment. In the field interviews and observations were the techniques used in producing and gathering data. The strategies employed in overcoming the weaknesses in the above techniques were selected based on literatures on conducting qualitative research, the reality of the field and my acquired experience in field work as an undergraduate. An important structure which shapes the nature of information gathered and produced during a fieldwork are gatekeepers. The effects of gatekeepers on the data gathered will be stated from time to time in this chapter. The gatekeepers in the field were my key informants such as the resettlement officers and elders in the communities visited.

3.3.1 Methods in Selecting Informants

All my informants were adults of about thirty years and above, with over eighty percent being males. They all had considerable knowledge of the situation in their area as well as the occurrences in the other resettlements in the country. This was very good since during the interviews, the affected people compared some of the issues the communities and households are facing, such as housing.

In the field, I used the purposive sampling technique which involved accessing and achieving specific targets whether population or goals (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). With this technique I interviewed thirteen key informants. They include resettlement officials of BPA, Ghana Dams Dialogue (GDD) and VRA, elders of Bui Village, Senchi Ferry Town, Dasaase, Gyama Host Community and Gyama New Settlement. These informants have great experience working with and having been forcefully resettled. Their interest in sharing their experiences and explaining the situation of forced resettlement made it easy to undertake my interviews. I also interviewed the people of Gyama New Settlement and Bui Village in two separate focus group discussions. I selected the participants for the discussion also by the purposive sampling technique. Participants were selected based on the following criteria: They have been settled due to the construction of the dam, they have a livelihood activity and assets in either farming, fishing or trading; they are adults heads or part of a household and they have considerable understanding of how the displacement and subsequent resettlement have affected their lives and how they foresee the future based on the current circumstances of forced resettlement. I conducted the two focus group discussions instead of interviewing heads of households at Gyama New Settlement and Bui Village. This was because farmers were busy preparing their lands and the fishermen were trying to get access to fish in the Black Volta situations imposed by the resettlement and the dam construction. However, the focus group discussions gave me good insights into issues facing the communities and households. At Gyama New Settlement, 12 people participated in the focus group discussion which consisted six men and six women. There was gender balance with equal opportunity and power relation among participants. Participant's selection was spearheaded by settlers based on the regulations for conducting focus group discussion (which I told them of) which tries to ensure equity in representation. On the contrary, gender equality was not the same at Bui; all the 12 participants were males. This was because I

had to meet the people after they have had a meeting with a BPA official. This was a situation where the gatekeeper influenced the data I gathered because the BPA officer (gatekeeper) introduced me to the people just after their meeting and I had to conduct the interviews right away. I participated in the 2010 annual meeting for all dam affected communities in Ghana organised by GDD as an observer. This also enriched my understanding of some information and observations I had got. Fortunately, I was able to conduct two in-depth interviews by chance since they were not part of my plan before going into the field. However, I got these informants through two key informants from VRA and Dasaase. My informants for the in-depth interviews both have experience of the Akosombo resettlement and their accounts enriched my data as one was an officer in the Akosombo resettlement team and the other experienced the resettlement process. In all I interviewed a total of thirty eight persons: eight persons on the Akosombo resettlement and thirty persons on the Bui resettlement projects. This is because Bui is the main study area. The last group of informants are the physical objects such as social amenities and settings of the communities under study. They confirmed some claims made during the interviews. Since these were inanimate things, I cross checked some of the observations I could not understand with some of the key informants, especially resettlement officials and elders in the communities under study. I equally observed the actions of my informants during the interviews and these helped me to further understand and contextualize what they said.

Having known how I had the informed consent of my informants, the next is to know how I built a good relationship with them.

3.3.2 Breaking the Ice but Keeping to Ethics with Informants

I introduced myself, sought permission and explained my mission to an informant before conducting any interviews and observations in the areas under study. I tried to build and sustain rapport during the interviews in order to integrate well with the informants. I did this by dressing modestly and treating informants with respect, and humility. I made conscious effort to listen with great attention and enjoy the conversation during the interviews. Furthermore, I made the informants comfortable and assured them of their anonymous involvement and the fact that the interviews was for academic purpose. This was also important since I used a face-to-face interview technique. I gave my informants the chance to express their views on the planning and

resettlement process at Bui and Akosombo and made them to know that they have greater power in this regard than I do. These approaches made the informants believe that I was studying and would not use their responses for any selfish agenda. Being a young Ghanaian lady studying in Norway was a great advantage to me. All my respondents were happy to help me and treated me with respect. In the field, almost all my informants ensured that I went through all the necessary official and customary procedures in accessing information, such as seeking permission from the executive director of an institution and having an approval letter which stated the departments I needed to visit. The affected people in the communities I visited accepted that I could not change their situation but my study may help improve situations in the future. My high proficiency in Twi helped me to communicate easily with the locally affected people as it gave them the chance to express themselves well. Although I did not have the opportunity of staying with them to establish a rather close relationship due to the short time, I ensured that I understood my informants at Bui in terms of empathy but not sympathy (Lantz as cited in Tillmar, 2002). I did this by explaining what I have read, heard and seen with the Akosombo resettlements. They believed and trusted me for what I said to them because they had visited some of the VRA resettlements and we had met at the meeting organized by the GDD.

This section has given an outlook of the conditions under which the interviews and observations were made. It is imperative thus, to know how the techniques selected were used in accessing relevant information for this study.

3.3.3 Approaches to Producing and Collecting Data (Interviews and Observations)

3.3.3.1 Key Informant Interviews

I used an interview guide or a set of structured open-ended question to gather information from my key informants. They include VRA, GDD and BPA officials as well as elders of Senchi Ferry Town, Dasaase, Gyama New Settlement, Gyama Host Community and Bui Village. I used either the structured open-ended questions or an interview guide depending on the time available for me to conduct the interview as well as the reception I was given. This helped me to gain information from all key informants without wasting their time or they getting bored. Using this strategy I interviewed twelve persons discussing the same topics. This increased my ability to compare responses and reduced possible bias towards particular issues. It equally gave me a

natural basis for organizing my work for analysis. The approach gave informants freedom to answer in whichever way they deemed fit and convenient. This flexibility produced diverse and similar responses. However, a VRA official thought my questions do not cover all the necessary aspects in understanding resettlement. He therefore picked out specific challenging issues on forced resettlement in Ghana such as chieftaincy and power relations between host and settler communities. He used examples from areas such as Vakpo, Pesseh and Dedeso which he thought I needed to know and would be important to find out how chieftaincy between host and settler communities is being handle at Bui. We later discussed my findings and issues I needed clarifications on even after my visit to the affected communities at Bui. Fortunately, this encounter gave me more information and great understanding on resettlement in general and the Akosombo project in particular than what my questions could have produced. This was a positive impact of a gatekeeper in the field.

3.3.3.2 In-depth Interviews

I conducted two in-depth interviews in the field using an interview guide. I used this approach in gathering information on the Akosombo resettlement programme. Both informants were the aged who could not remember everything vividly; hence a structured open-ended interview was not the best. The first informant was an ex-official of VRA who had also visited the Bui project site when it was started and had given some advice based on his experience in resettlement. I was directed to him by my key informant from VRA. During the interview the informant tried to find out about my knowledge on the Bui project since he thought he had not followed the progress of the project much after his visit. After my description of the situation at Bui, he explained what happened during the Akosombo resettlement, said a little on what was happing at Bui and projected what the future holds for the people of Bui and resettlement in Ghana. One shortfall of this interview is the fact that the informant depended on my knowledge on the Bui project to assess occurrences there and to predict the future, when I had not critically assessed, interpreted and analyzed my findings. Moreover, since the VRA resettlement happened a long time ago the informant could not remember everything vividly, but it was worthwhile conducting the interview since he pointed out certain specific issues he thought are relevant for the study such as to compare housing quality.

The second in-depth interview was at Dasaase Settlement with an old woman of about 70 years. I was directed to her by an elder of the village since he felt he did not know much but his aunt (the old woman), being one of the elderly in the town and a witness to what happened, could give me much detailed information. The old woman gave account of what happened during the Akosombo resettlement although not vividly. She linked the problems and challenges associated with the planning and resettlement process to the current state of the town, which my direct observation and information from interview with two elders in the settlement earlier on confirmed. Unfortunately, she found it difficult accepting me as a student. This was not because of how I presented myself but because the situation overwhelmed her and she wanted to see a change. She was reminded by one of the elders that I was just a student and could not change their situation; she then prayed my work help turn things around in the near future.

3.3.3.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

I conducted two focus group discussions using structured open-ended questions. The first discussion was at the Gyama New Settlement which lasted for about three hours and the second at Bui Village which also lasted over two hours. At Gyama the interviewees consisted of twelve members, six males and six females including some elders. At Bui, the group consisted of twelve members but all males including elders of the village. I used the focus group discussions to determine the knowledge of the settlers on the planning and implementation process of the RPF and how this has affected their lives as a community and as individuals. I was able to find out what the community's expectations, fears and joys were and how they are managing the challenges the resettlement has brought on them. I chose focus group discussions because I had very limited time to stay on site because of accommodation problems besides the farming and fishing challenges. The focus group discussions helped me obtain substantial information in the limited time available. At Gyama New Settlement, documents on the resettlement plans an informant had, were brought to support the claims of the settlers. An example is the document on temporal relocation for the first settlers (Gyama New Settlement); this is attached in appendix four. This enlightened the people on how to approach solving their housing problems since they feel cheated because their houses are inferior to the houses of those under phase B. The

discussions were quite lively because everyone was ready to contribute to each question. This prolonged the discussions but there was great energy throughout the discussions.

3.3.3.4 Observations

I tried to observe the resettlement towns fairly well by direct observation, focusing on social amenities, the population and living conditions in the area. I was also observing while attending two meetings, one between members of the Bui Village and a BPA official for about two hours. The other meeting was with representatives of all dam affected communities in Ghana organized by GDD. Representatives from VRA and other government officials also attended. The meeting lasted the whole day. In relation to Silverman's (2007) argument about conducting qualitative research, it is the data gathering technique, which helped produce my own data. The observations helped me contextualize information given by the resettlement officers and the settlers in relation with the topic under study. Hence, as Silverman (2007) posited, this technique helped me to critically analyze and interpret my data before concluding.

3.3.4 Photography

I took pictures of the things I observed and the settings I deemed necessary for the study. I also took pictures of important documents I could not make copies in the field. An example is the document on the temporal relocation for the first settlers of Gyama New Settlement. I sought the consent of informants before taking these photographs. The photographs served as proof for being in the field by including them at relevant places in my analysis. This was because it helped me produce my own data and complemented some information given during the interviews. Finally, during analysis, these photographs reminded me of other matters, which may not have struck me as important in the field but only to find them relevant later during the data interpretation and analysis through careful observation and assessment of the photographs. For example, in the field, I did not realise the temporary relocation notice (of appendix four) that the temporal houses will be undertaken as a self help housing programme.

3.3.5 Secondary Data

I supplemented the primary data with a myriad of secondary data. I had numerous books, articles, thesis, reports, news paper clipping and photographs from the VRA library and publicity

office, George Padmore Library, Nordiska Afrikainstitutete (NAI) library, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) Dragvoll library and Google. Some of these sources date as far as the early 1950s. These old secondary sources helped me to understand what took place during the Akosombo resettlement. These sources also enlightened my understanding of the complex issues surrounding forced resettlement in general and those pertaining to Ghana and the study area. This helped me plan the issues I should discuss in the interviews before going into the field and also to discuss, infer and conclude on my analysis after the fieldwork. Furthermore, the secondary data helped me structure my analytical approach for the study.

3.3.6 Recording and Storing Data

I took notes and audio recorded the interviews I conducted using digital audio recording equipment, which I transcribed later. But before using the recorder, I asked permission and explained my reasons for using a recorder. I thought of combining note taking and audio recording based on my experience at note taking during my undergraduate field work. I realized that note taking does not allow me to concentrate fully upon discussions during interviews. Hence, rather than trying to balance conversation and note taking I planned to record. Since body languages cannot be audio recorded, I made conscious effort to describe these in my notes. I ensured that the places I undertook my interviews were very quiet so that background noise did not make my transcription difficult. For instance, one of my key informants wanted to listen to a newspaper review on the radio while the interview went on, but I explained the possible effect of this on my recording. He then agreed and put off the radio. I took pictures and notes of the things I observed. I also took pictures of all relevant literature I gathered in the field which I converted them into portable document files; a technique I was shown by a VRA librarian. I saved money, time and the risk of destroying or losing an important document by sending it out for photocopying. Having all my data in soft copy form, I saved them on my computer, a flash drive and in my email box.

3.3.7 Data Viability and Quality

Appraising the field study, issues of question phrasing, trust and power relations are very important (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Hence, I have the following experience in the field to share: All the interviews were largely a conversation because I empowered all my informants by giving

them freedom and making them know that I need their knowledge and experience regarding forced resettlement in writing this thesis. However, almost all of them asked me to tell them the little I knew and what I had seen in their communities which I did. This increased the trust between me and my respondents, since they realised that I have seen some of the issues confronting them. They were therefore ready to show me what I had not seen. Hence, I did not have to follow strictly the questions I had prepared. One of my respondents told me that the questions I had would not give me an in-depth knowledge to understand the situation of forced resettlement at Akosombo. He therefore gave me three days of lectures of about eight hours so I could understand the situation thoroughly. He took me round one of the VRA resettlements which gave me a firm understanding of what he was explaining. He also pointed other examples among the VRA settlements such as the poor housing structures provided at Adjena. Besides my informants being empowered, I ensured I was also in control of the interviews. This was because, after telling them what I was studying, some suggested how I should go about it, while others followed my questions but guided me in the process and added what they thought are also relevant for the study. However, in all these I assessed whether what they were saying or suggesting actually conformed and added value to my study objective and research questions.

Furthermore, during the focus group discussion besides stating emphatically that wrong information should be checked by other participants, during the discussions at Bui Village and Gyama New Settlement, informants listened attentively to what their fellows said and corrected those who made mistakes in the information they gave immediately. Women took active part in the discussion at Gyama New Settlement. I believe this was because they are all migrants and co-habiting. At Bui Village, women were not part of the discussion putting the participants in the same position. Men discussing and making decisions on behalf of women may be a traditional practice. After the interview at Gyama New Settlement, there was a nice conversation in which the settlers asked me to tell them what I thought about their situation and their complaints. This I think was to see what my thoughts about them were and to be very sure I am not an official of BPA in disguise. They actually stated that, since am studying about forced resettlement and development in general I should learn well so I do not join BPA or other organisations to maltreat dam affected people or any other group I may have to work with. They were pleased to meet me at the meeting organized by GDD. This increased the trust and rapport and they shared

current occurrences at Bui with me and reminded me to contact them for current developments when I return to the university.

3.4 After Field Work (Analyzing and Interpreting Data)

This study has been analyzed in two broad sections. The first part is a document and primary data analysis of the RPF. The RPF was evaluated using the World Bank Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement (4.12), the Ghanaian law requirements for resettlement and lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlement since they served as a guide in planning the RPF. Additionally, the data gathered and produced in the field were used to determine how well the above mentioned documents have been utilized in planning and executing a successful resettlement at Bui. The second part of the analysis focuses strictly on the use of empirical evidence from the field to assess the potential impact of the planning and implementation process of the RPF at the community and household levels. In achieving these two goals, theories and concepts discussed in the theory chapter were used in building an analytical framework, which served as a guide in analysing the data. Conclusions and suggestions were made based on the theories and data from the field. Copies of this research work will be given to the institutions, communities and libraries where the data in executing this research were obtained. This will be for the time being until other opportunities of disseminating the results of this research arises.

3.5 Conclusion

It is said that the most valuable thing any fieldworker can take into field is good luck (Wax, 1985). This good luck to me is divine grace which helped me access all the important informants and materials I needed. This is because although I tried to prepare well before going into field, I realized in the field that I did not have as much knowledge as I had thought, hence I relied on the advice of my key informants on where and how to get the relevant information. An important finding I made in the field was that all informants are gatekeepers, and the position of informants concerning the issues under research determines the information they give. Researchers must therefore be smart to evaluate the impact of external support on their research since overdependence on gatekeepers could be detrimental for researchers in accessing credible data.

4 Chapter Four: Theories and Concepts

4.1 Introduction

This section has two objectives, first it attempts to determine the development theory and approach at work in forced resettlement in Ghana. This is because despite the reality that forced resettlement comes with much destruction to the lives of the affected people, it is perceived as a means to achieve development and improvement in the areas and lives of indigenous, rural and minority groups who are those usually affected in the process of establishing these infrastructures. Hence, the modernization and alternative development Meta theories are examined in order to determine which of these theories is in operation during forced resettlement in Ghana. This is because in the 1950's the modernisation theory was the basis for forced resettlement. However, the need to minimize or avoid the adverse effects of forced resettlement on the affected people brought along the need to employ the alternative development theoretical approach during forced resettlement such as rights based approaches.

Furthermore, since the RPF and its process of implementation has been designed to follow the alternative development theory with concepts, such as participation, rights and sustainable livelihood, the meaning and role of these concepts will be reviewed. Additionally, the concepts of compensation and forced resettlement will equally be examined. Analysis of the data collected will be based on what these concepts and theories propose and what is happening practically at Bui. This will be done using an analytical framework constructed out of the knowledge of these concepts.

4.2 Theory in Practice (Modernisation versus Alternative Development Theory)

Modernization theory introduced in the 1950s is about the Global South becoming like the Global North in both attitude and landscape features. It involves economic growth, political and social modernisation. Pieterse (2001) has identified two forms of changes which may be simply referred to as physical or landscape changes and the social or human action changes. The first change he mentions is the endogenous changes which include social differentiation, rationalisation, and the spread of universalism, achievement and specificity. The second category is the project of exogenous changes which are the spread of market relations or capitalism,

industrialisation through technological diffusion, westernization, nation-building (nationalism as a derivative discourse), and state formation (as in postcolonial inheritor states). The modernisation theory has also been classified as ‘top-down’, whereby ideas and policies is handed down to local people from state officials or policy makers as blueprints which will make their lives better than the live they are having.

“There are different ways of explaining what alternative development is about and its role, breeding huge arguments concerning its authenticity” (Pieterse, 2001, p.74). Alternative development is, however, generally viewed as development from below (communities and individuals through NGOs). Alternative development therefore has three dimensions namely, agents, methods and objectives or values of development. Methods employed are participatory, sustainable, endogenous and self-reliant with an objective of satisfying basic needs. Alternative development is therefore a turn from comparative methods and blueprint planning towards appreciating cultural diversity. This approach hence focuses on how to organize the capacities and capabilities of the poor themselves individually and communally to achieve development. This approach is termed bottom-up strategy which involves institutional and political reforms. It therefore makes use of concepts and practices such as participation, empowerment and rights.

Explanation of the two meta-theories of development above and the fact that many states have argued and defended their actions for displacing people through forced resettlement as a means of developing these people raise many question. One of such is, are some issues still addressed in a top-down manner in forced resettlement? Obtaining an answer to this question is important, especially when many nations do not make good use of the alternative development approach tools in conducting and executing forced resettlement to minimize its adverse effects. Therefore knowing the theory in practice is very importance, since that is what determines the end results of forceful resettlement or the final status of the affected people.

The theoretical approach or analytical framework adopted for this study works on forced resettlement, the right to participate, and livelihoods. However, it is also vital to know the significance of structure, policies and practices (thus, laws, administration set-up, planning and actors) in forced resettlement in Ghana.

4.3 The Nature of Forced Resettlement (Development-Induced Displacement [DID])

To a reasonable extent successful forced resettlement (which would seem to require making planned provision for people who have to move, but who do not necessarily have to involve people moving to planned new resettlement areas as such) would seem to require resettled people being economically better off and living in socially stable and institutionally functional communities. According to De Wet, (as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009), involuntary resettlement is characterized by imposed spatial change, in the sense that it involves people having to move from one settlement and area to another, and the spatial change usually involves a change in the patterns of people's access to resources. Resettled people usually find themselves in larger, and more heterogeneous, settlements than previously, exposing them to wider structures involving accelerated socio-economic change. Usually, an institutional process is combined in such a way that the goals of the resettlement component of the overall project are not realized. Resettlement with development does not happen, and people are left socio-economically worse-off than before (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009). Hence, the majority of cases exhibit that most of the people displaced or resettled by development projects are left worse off than before and suffer socio-economic impoverishment (De Wet, 2006). It has been acknowledged that forced resettlement disproportionately affects indigenous and ethnic minorities and the urban or rural poor (FMO, 2010).

The official objective of a project involving forced resettlement is to benefit a much wider population than that of the displaced themselves. And the key characteristic of this wider population is that it shares with the displaced population membership of the same nation-state. According to De Wet (2006), the forced settlers, displaced in the 'national interest' to make way for a development project, exposes a contradiction between the nation-state, as the ultimate source of legitimate political control and the principal agent of development in a given territory, and as a community of equal citizens. Cernea (as cited in Turton, 2009, p.29) asserts: 'some people enjoy the gains of development, while others bear its pains'. He therefore questions - who are these 'others' 'who are also fellow citizens? In what sense are they 'others'? Is it that they are 'not us' or is it, more fundamentally, that they are 'not like us', that they have a different and systematically inferior relationship to the sources of state power? (Turton, 2009, p. 29)

Additionally, development projects, which imply resettlement, are about infrastructure and about generating revenue from that infrastructure. As a result, in some cases, resettlement is seen as an external cost, as a hassle that has to be accommodated if the overall project is to go ahead. Thus an official on the Volta River Project described the 80,000 people who would have to move to make way for the project, as ‘the fly in the ointment’. “Given that resettlement projects in Africa have often been part of wider political agendas and programmes, and have been conducted in the context of critical shortages and by officials and technicians who have seen infrastructure provision as a key economic progress, it is not surprising that many resettlement projects have been characterized by inadequate consultation and participation” (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009, p.41).

De Wet (2006, p.2) is positive that the contributors to the book he edited will all be in conformity with the World Commission on Dams that, “at the heart of the dams debate are issues of equity, governance, justice and power – issues that underlie the many intractable problems faced by humanity... dams have made an important and significant contribution to human development, and the benefits derived from them have been considerable... in too many cases an unacceptable and often unnecessary price has been paid to secure those benefits, especially in social and environmental terms, by people displaced, by communities downstream, by taxpayers and by the natural environment (World Commission on Dams 2000: xxviii)”. De Wet (2006) adds that, ‘by bringing all those whose rights are involved and who bear the risk associated with different options for water and energy resources development, the conditions for a positive resolution of competing interests and conflicts are created’. Actual participation has varied across schemes. Officials have listened to what affected people have to say. However, resettlement schemes have been planned and implemented on behalf of and for, rather than by and with, the affected people. The interests and concerns of the planners and implementers accordingly influence the way the resettlement component develops much more strongly than do those of the affected people. Following from this, resettlement is usually not deliberately planned as a development exercise, intended to leave the resettled people better-off. The result of the above factors is that, by default, resettlement becomes reduced to relocation (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009). Hence, there is a need for effective consultation and participation between forced settlers and development workers. “The fact that the resettlement component of

a development project often runs out of time in relation to the other aspects of the project, coupled with the coordination problems arising out of 'Project Logic', gives rise to the threats of the resettlement component being unable to meet its goals, and accordingly of Cernea's impoverishment 'risk' becoming actualized. Limited participation by resettlers raises the real possibility of the way they see the threats and opportunities with which resettlement confronts them are not being taken into account, with the threats of planning and subsequent action being not only inappropriate but actively damaging to the welfare of the resettlers. Not seeing the resettlement project, with all its different constituencies, as an integrated whole, carries the threat of the risks facing parties other than the resettlers not being taken into account, which raises the spectre of even further alienation of local resettlement officials, who are already overworked and short on capacity and resources, and of the local-level institutional process becoming increasingly unworkable'' (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009, p. 45).

De Wet therefore argues that "successful resettlement is not simply or even predominantly a matter of getting the 'right inputs' lined up, such as sound legal and policy frameworks sufficient political will, and the necessary financial and administrative capacity. In China for example a number of resettlement projects have had these ingredients but were not successful (Shi et al. as cited in De Wet, 2006, p.1). Although, there is no denying the obvious that successful resettlement is not possible without the necessary inputs, it would seem that those 'inputs', while necessary, are not sufficient" (De Wet, 2006, p.1).

Rew (as cited in De Wet, 2009, p.40) has coined the term "policy practice" to suggest that policy and its implementation should not be seen as two separate phases, but as part of one process. Rew, suggests that policy is significantly transformed in the process of implementation. This is because policy outcomes reflect problems inherent in the institutional process of forced resettlement and rehabilitation. Furthermore, policy is usually a negotiated outcome that has to accommodate the concerns of various interest groups. It is implemented in a context characterized by poor communication and coordination between the various agencies, by work pressure, and by capacity and resource shortages which allows considerable discretion to local-level resettlement officials, who cut corners and develop their own operational routines in order to cope with the demands of their situation. Forced resettlement policy thus effectively becomes what local-level officials make of it on the ground. This happens because countries or regions

needing infrastructure projects are faced by a number of mutually reinforcing critical shortages, such as money, staff, skills and critically time, since lack of the other resources tends to result in resettlement planning (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009).

Threats or risk have been identified to undermine successful establishment of resettlements. These threats or risk operations in resettlement emanates from the individual, community, nation or regional and international levels. The individual or household levels involve the loss of natural, economic and human capital. The community level is what Cernea labelled 'social disarticulation' which relates to the disruption of "the existing social fabric...patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties... kinship groups...informal networks... local voluntary organizations...". There is also the 'cultural disarticulation', or What Downing calls "disruption of the spatial-temporal order" or "social geometry" (1996:33-34) which include threats to the cultural integrity and autonomy of a group. Economic impoverishment can take place at a collective, community level, as in the loss or lessening of access to communal property resources, to community services, or to schooling. Furthermore, the different sections of the resettled group, such as rich and poor, young and old, men and women, healthy and ill, will experience the threats inherent in resettlement with differential intensities, and correspondingly be more or less likely to succumb to them (De Wet, 2009, p.44).

Forced resettlement also fundamentally alters the institutional context in which people find themselves (McDowell as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009). Rapid change poses the threat of institutional changes in their new setting and wider context. This in turn negatively affects their ability to negotiate access to resources. Linked to this is what one might call the threat of political disarticulation. Koenig (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009) suggests that involuntary resettlement is also impoverishing because it takes away political power, most dramatically the power to decide about where and how to live. Groups find themselves displaced, with less political autonomy and rights, less command of the resources in their area, and being more tightly controlled by wider political and administrative structures. They lose resources and autonomy because they did not have the socio-political 'capital' to take an effective stand against the intruding outsiders. The conjunction of territorial, economic, administrative and political change leads to crises of leadership, which may result in factionalism and intra-community conflict (De Wet as cited in Pankhurst & Piguet, 2009). The interaction between resettlers and

the local host community is a fault line along which such conflict often crystallizes. The resultant effects of the above factors hold the threat of a sense of fatalism and dependency developing in resettled communities. This would characterize situations where settlements have not been able to achieve what Scudder (1993) calls the stage of economic development and social formation (*ibid*).

At the national and regional levels the absence of proper legal and policy frameworks as well as insufficient political will, commitment, fiscal restraint, and dysfunctional coordination between the various agencies responsible for different aspects of resettlement, create the threats of resettlement projects not being properly planned and funded or implemented. The rights and wishes of affected people are therefore not respected resulting in socio-economic failure. Furthermore, not only will the scheme become effectively disabling but this will also lead to social and economic decline.

With this knowledge, and the fact that the Akosombo dam led to thousands being displaced and many lives worsened, lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlement and the Ghanaian law requirement on resettlement serving as a guide in drafting the RPF and its implementation is a step in the right direction to minimise the adverse effects of forced resettlement in Ghana. I will add that for forced resettlement to improve the lives of its victims not only will it require right and sufficient inputs but also these inputs must be combined right (timing and organisation). Based on the above discussion on the ability of structures to reduce the level of adverse impacts of forced resettlement, the question for this thesis is, how are these structures being modernized or reviewed to avoid the mistakes of the past in Ghana?

4.4 The Right to Participate

Rights based approach to development is a conceptual framework for the process of human development, normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promote and protect human rights. It seeks to integrate the norms, standards and principles of the international human rights system into the plans, policies and programmes of development (Mikkelsen, 2005). According to Kofi Annan, the rights-based approach to development describes situations not simply in terms of human needs, or of development requirements, but in terms of society's obligations to respond to the inalienable rights of

individuals, to empower people to demand justice as a right, not charity, and to give communities a moral basis from which to claim international assistance when needed (UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, 1998). Although there is no single universally agreed rights-based approach and the approach has some challenges, it gives development workers and beneficiaries a means to achieving and enjoying progressive development in that all persons benefit equally when a development project is undertaken.

Human rights are moral and legal entitlements and there are three groups of agents namely, right-holders, duty-bearers and other actors. By signing the human rights treaties, states become the principal duty bearers in their respective countries; hence Ghana needs to take bold steps to ensure that none of its citizens' rights are abused since it's a signatory to the international human rights legislation, hence the need for research and the inclusion of an assessment of rights (a legal obligation). Concurrently, right holders (affected people) equally have the duty to ensure satisfaction of human needs as an individual or in association with others since they are active subjects in the fulfilment of their rights as human beings. This is important for the study because it helps access how the displaced are fighting to ensure that their rights are upheld. Likewise, organisations and individuals do have the moral duty of respecting and promoting human rights (Mikkelsen, 2005).

Additionally, this approach realizes that human rights imply some public expenditure and that poor countries face resource constraints. International law therefore allows for progressive realization of some rights over a period of time as long as the state takes deliberate, concrete and targeted steps in the direction of realizing human rights while upholding core obligations such as non-discrimination. The fact that international law does not appear to provide effective protection for forced resettlers, together with the fact that the forced resettlement guidelines of funding agencies such as the World Bank are not always observed or properly policed, and that a number of financing institutions in the private sector are seemingly happy to lend money without worrying too much about the niceties of resettlement, all raise the threat of resettlers effectively having no protection when they are the victims of unjust laws and action on the part of their national government (De Wet, 2009).

This situation brings on board the issue of participation. Several approaches to participation emerged in an era of state failure, panic over top-down modernization approaches,

proclamations of the end of grand explanations and a measure of post-colonial guilt. Although some challenges have been identified to confront putting participation into practice, such as whose voices are heard, whose space participation occurs, for what purpose and whose power is affected. According to Pimbert and Wakeford (as cited in Mikkelsen, 2005, p.111) “democracy without citizen deliberation and participation is ultimately an empty and meaningless concept...” Actions needed to democratise forced resettlement according to Koenig (as cited in De Wet, 2006) include increased commitment to democratisation and participation, greater transparency in planning, capacity building among local and administrative organisations, creating coalitions and increasing choice. Participation has been identified to essentially involve the exercise of popular agency in relation to development (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Effective participation means influencing decisions, not simply involvement in implementation; it is an essential component of political life (Freeney as cited in De Wet, 2006). Some agencies have expressed fear that participation will lead to costly over-runs and delays. Thus, sharing information and consulting affected people will create unrealistic expectations and attract free-riders. However, experience shows that up-front effort is not wasted. Genuine participation helps to secure local consensus and reduce conflicts, negative social impacts, and delays later on in the process. It builds trust and collaboration, and communities gain a sense of ownership. Despite agency concerns, building community support in this way may actually inhibit free-riders, since the community, as well as project personnel, gain an interest in keeping them out. Again participation cannot simply mean involving locals in actions, the lines of which have already been dictated by higher levels. This is because the process brings the potential for abuse if the more knowledgeable or more organised can dominate discussions. Additionally, placing different stakeholders on centre stage as if they are on a level playing field belies a situation in which power relations are extremely unequal, particularly for local people (Rew et al. as cited in De Wet, 2006). For instance in Cree in Quebec, restructured relationship between locals and larger societal institutions made locals take over local administration and service delivery (Feit, Salisbury as cited in De Wet, 2006, p.126). Furthermore, democratic planning cannot happen on its own; it needs to be facilitated by positive actions and a learning-process approach to planning that recognises the time and unpredictability inherent in changing behaviour and institutions. Top-down planning usually assumes, falsely, no significant change in socio-cultural, political-

economic or physical context during the project. A plan created without the participation of local residents devalues their local knowledge. It is better to recognise the contingent nature of social change and envision a framework for action, which will be adapted as circumstances change. Given the complexity of forced resettlement, unanticipated consequences are the rule. It has been identified that having access to knowledge is necessary in making inferences about potential consequences. In order to have knowledge there is the need for transparency (Sen as cited in De Wet, 2006). According to De Wet (2006) this includes informing people in time about resettlement, legal entitlements and eligibility, due process and grievance mechanisms (Cernea as cited in De Wet, 2006). Additionally, knowledge by itself has been noted to be insufficient in creating effective participation. Hence, people need skills to participate effectively in a process whose outcomes result from negotiation. Administrative organisations must understand their particular strengths and weaknesses linked to structural constraints as well as contingent features linked to such aspects as the capabilities and personalities of individual personnel. Displaced people need training to build their organisational skills so that they can participate more equitably in negotiations. Small or isolated populations may find it difficult to create effective organisations. They can often enhance effectiveness by building coalitions with others and developing local umbrella organisations that include multiple local groups, as did the Cree of Quebec (Scudder as cited in De Wet, 2006). Even when the capacities of their own organisations are enhanced, often displaced people still have less power to put forward their agendas. They may need to form coalitions with other groups to increase their ability to pressure more powerful groups and organisations. “Forging relationships with international organisations has allowed local groups to gain visibility and clout” (Gray as cited in De Wet, 2006, p.129).

According to Hickey and Mohan (2004) for participatory approaches to be transformative, it requires critical engagement with the following. Firstly, participation must be ideologically explicit and tied to a coherent theory of development. Secondly, the locus of transformation must go beyond the individual and local to include multi-scaled strategies that encompass the institutional and structural. Thirdly, they argue that a radicalized notion of citizenship – derived in part from alternative development theories of participation provides the intermediary analytical and strategic basis upon which the project can be pursued. Citizenship has usually been associated with its liberal incarnation, referring to the legal rights and

responsibilities conferred by the state. Alternative and populist approaches saw citizenship in active terms initially related to decision-making at the community level, but later engaging with citizenship in multiple political communities including the state (e.g. Friedmann 1992). They continued that citizenship provides a means of linking participation with emerged ‘rights-based’ agenda. Hence, the twin movement of a coherent ideological and theoretical stance and the reframing of participation as multi-scaled citizenship (thus ‘citizenship and rights’, ‘political space’, ‘political capabilities’, ‘political contract’ and ‘political capital’) including the thematic areas of transformation, the temporal and spatial and representation are the contemporary approaches within which participation must engage in order to (re)constitute participation as a viable and legitimate approach within development (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p.12).

4.5 Compensating Livelihoods Losses During and After Forced Resettlement

Forced resettlement has been noted to involve expropriation and assets-dispossession. Losses can be categorized as natural capital, man-made physical capital, human capital and social capital. The conventional approach in solving this issue has been that projects causing forced displacement predict the coverage of all the opportunity costs, including all the costs of settlers’ reconstruction and livelihood improvement, upon compensation payments. However, this approach has come under review such that it is asked “How could so much rest on so little?” (Cernea & Mathur, 2008, p.6). Thus the foundational assumption of involuntary resettlement policies that payment of compensation is capable of restoring displaced person’s previous economic systems, incomes and livelihoods is inadequate. Some policies assume wrongly that compensation can also improve incomes and livelihoods levels. Cernea and Mathur (2008) argue that compensation, however important in both theory and practice, is alone insufficient and unable to achieve restoration and livelihood improvement. That prevailing outcome in most forced resettlement proves it. These outcomes are the widespread impoverishment of those displaced. Hence, to make possible the restoration and development of people dispossessed through forced displacement, investment financing in their development is indispensable, above and in addition to compensation. Cernea and Mathur (2008) conclude that it is financially feasible not only morally equitable to enable those displaced to receive part of the benefits generated by the developments made possible by their sacrifices. Resources for such investments

can be secured in several ways, and they would tangibly lift the living standards of those displaced.

Livelihood comprises the capabilities (institutions and humans), assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities (actions at various levels) required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers & Cornwall, as cited in Geran, undated). Livelihood can be classified in the terms of individual and community; individual livelihoods include jobs, works or sources of income, activities that provide income to live on (such as farming, fishing and trading) (Jayaratne, 2007). A community's livelihood is its caring capacity, which is its ability to care for its members, form and pass on values, educate its youth, support creative endeavours, offer recreational opportunities and provide safe and friendly neighbourhoods. It basically comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for living (Jayaratne, 2007).

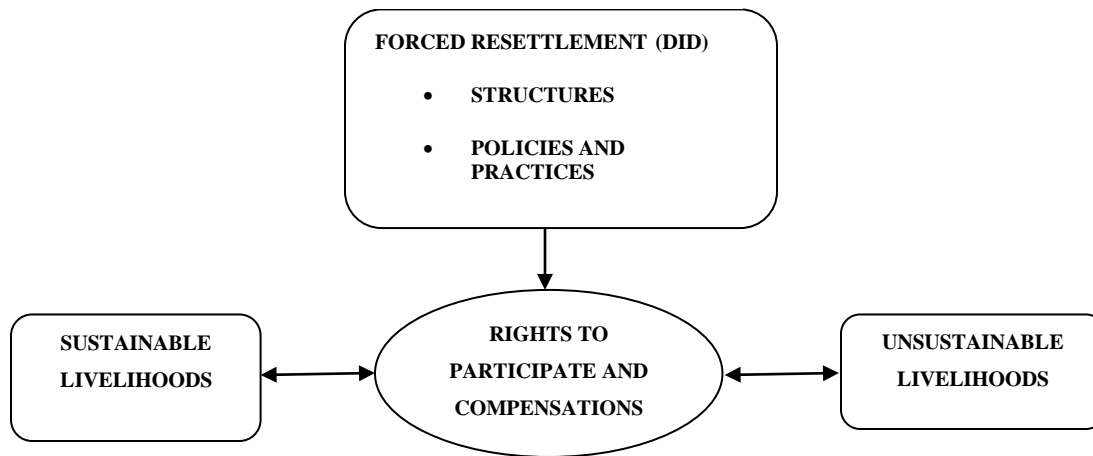
Livelihood is adaptable and resilient if it is possible to substitute between livelihood activities and a diverse portfolio of activities in the face of adverse trends or sudden shocks (Ellis, 1999). Coping strategies are invoked under abnormal periods of stress and tend to be short-term responses whereas adaptive strategies create more long term or permanent changes in the mix of livelihood activities (Davies as cited in Geran, undated).

Three main sustainable livelihood strategies have been identified, which households pursue in the face of crisis. These are livelihood diversification, agricultural intensification, and migration (Ellis, 1999). As mentioned earlier, during forced resettlement, affected people lose all their assets which include physical, financial, natural and social capital. Since forcefully resettled persons lose all resources. It is important to know how the right to participate may help sustain or improve livelihoods during and after forced resettlement. Thus how their right to participate in the face of forced resettlement helps restore the physical, financial, natural, human and social capitals. Hence, the role of right to participate in the three main sustainable livelihood strategies households pursue in crisis such as forced resettlement.

According to Ellis (1999) rural livelihood diversification is the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival and in order to improve their standard of living. The mix of activities depends on a household's ability to access different livelihood opportunities. Though studies often focus on the relationship between attitudes towards risk and diversification, the opportunity to diversify may be even more important to the diversification process. Dercon and Krishnan (as cited in Geran, undated) found in rural Tanzania and Ethiopia that it is having the opportunity to diversify and not the attitude towards risk that spurs households into multiple activities. Geran (undated) stated that, though livelihood diversification is thought to reduce risk, because the nature of risk for one endeavor should not be the same as that for a different type of endeavor when multiple types of shocks occur the same year then even diversified households may be severely affected. He suggests that it is therefore important to understand how households obtain diversification opportunities through their human capital endowments. The right to participate not only mediates the opportunity to diversify but can also determine whether the effects of diversification are positive or negative. A household's ability to adopt more profitable diversification strategies is determined by its having the skills, location, capital, credit and social connections to pursue other activities (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). Diversification can affect agriculture negatively through withdrawal of critical labor inputs from the farm and positively by providing capital for investment and a reduction in the risk of innovation (Ellis 1999). There may also be gender differences in the types of diversification available to various members of a household that can be the source of inequality or even conflict within households. Many types of non-farm employment can be skewed in favor of men and against women (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). The variation in diversification effects on rural households makes an analysis of local institutions and social relations and human capital important in any analysis of change in rural livelihoods.

4.6 Analytical Framework

Figure 3: Analytical framework



Source: Researchers' own construct (2011).

Based on the theory, literature review and analytical framework above, it is assumed that forced resettlement could lead to sustainable or unsustainable livelihood. The sustainability or unsustainability of livelihoods during displacement and resettlement depends on the compensation package given (this study looks at houses, land, water, social amenities and financial support packages) and the rights to participate.

The analytical framework above projects the facts that, forced resettlement leaves affected people with limited abilities. It is assumed that the right to participate is the only resource left for affected people after being forcibly ousted. It is also assumed then that it is only through the right to participate in the resettlement process that affected people can have their assets and corresponding lost activities restored. Hence, the way the affected people use their right to participate in the face of the pressures and challenges of forced resettlement, will determine whether they will have a sustainable livelihood in the future or not. Thus, sustainable livelihoods would be achieved if affected people use their right to participate efficiently to influence decisions to drive home adequate compensation as replacements of their lost assets. On the other hand, an unsustainable livelihood may result if the assets dispossessed of the affected persons are not replaced through adequate compensation by the efficient use of their right to

participate. Although Cernea and Mathur (2008) have identified compensation packages to be inadequate in many situations; compensations are what are being used in the RPF to restore and improve the lives of the affected people. Additionally, Cernea and Mathur (2008) have posited that if compensation is planned to run as long as the project exists it will reduce the adverse effect of the displacement to a considerable extent. Hence, in answering research question one, evaluating the RPF (planning and implementation) in the light of its guidelines is useful. In doing so, priority will be placed on the right to participate and the compensation package. Likewise, in answering research question two, which is to identify the potential long and short term impacts of the displacement and consequent effects on the affected persons, the rights of affected persons to participate and the compensation package provided will be examined.

As the theories and concepts of the literature reviewed above show, it is not only the right to participate that can be used in assessing the success of the planning and implementation of a forced resettlement. Therefore, although the right to participate and the other components in the analytical framework will take a prominent part of the analysis, the other factors mentioned above such as structures, political will, policies and practice will be considered in the analysis concurrently.

PART III: DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDS

5 Chapter Five: History of State Forced Resettlements in Ghana

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes Ghana's main river system, upon which all the three hydropower dams in Ghana can be found. It also describes how forced resettlements began in Ghana with settlements such as Damongo in the Northern region and Tema in the Greater-Accra region. Finally, this section gives the history of the two hydropower dams whose resettlement component is under study, namely the Akosombo and Bui dams³. It brings to light lessons learnt by government officials and findings of some researchers on these dams as well as projected impacts since the Bui dam, is under construction.

5.2 The River Volta

The River Volta is the main river system of Ghana. It takes its source from six West African states and two thirds of its 150, 000 square mile basin is outside Ghana in Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Mali (Moxon, 1969). 61,000 square miles of the river lie in Ghana of the combined White, Black and Red Volta. The Red and White Volta Rivers from Burkina Faso joins near the Gambaga Scarp in the Upper East Region of Ghana and flows together as the White Volta. The White Volta then joins the Black Volta from Cote d'Ivoire and together with River Oti (from Benin) joins forces for the Volta Rivers massive flow. The main stream of the Volta (Black Volta) is about 1,000 miles in length. It rises in the Kong Mountains about 25 miles out of the Burkina Faso town of Bodo-Dioulasso. It passes through a narrow gorge at Bui in the Brong Ahafo region from Cote d'Ivoire. It continues down through another gorge at Ajena in the Western Region and flows down, entering the gulf of Guinea at Ada in the Greater Accra region.

The river is at its lowest in March each year and at its highest at the end of September or early October. The name Volta was given to the river by the fifteenth-century Portuguese explorers and means 'meander' (Moxon, 1969). Extensive trade was and is still undertaken on

³ The third hydropower dam in Ghana, the Kpong dam was constructed between 1976 and 1981 is not discussed in this work because although the state built the dam, the resettlement process was undertaken by VRA. The location of this dam is however, shown on figure 6.

the River Volta, since it serves as the only and cheapest means of travel between northern and southern Ghana. Moxon (1969) believes the ancestors or founders of the Ga-Adangbe- Krobo, Akan, Ewe, Mamprusi and Dagomba ethnic groups of Ghana used the river to get into the country. Some made use of other important rivers such as the Tano and Ankobra, which are the main tributaries of the River Volta to get to their present locations.

Today most of Ghana's fresh water fish is caught in the River Volta. The fishing industry has created other auxiliary jobs like carpentry for building and mending boats and canoes as well as trading. River Volta's water is used for irrigation purposes in the Afram Plains and its banks are farmed. Much of the Volta's waters are currently submerged in the 8,500 km sq Lake Volta at Akosombo, which has formed the world's largest artificial water body with respect to area coverage (Kalitsi, 2003). Another lake at Bui on the Black Volta River is being created.

5.3 Inception of State Forced Resettlements in Ghana: Damongo and Tema Settlements

State resettlement programmes in Ghana from the colonial regime to date include, the Frafra Resettlement Programme at Damongo, in the Gonja District, 1956, the Tema Port Resettlement Scheme, 1959 (Chambers, 1970), the Akosombo Resettlement Project, 1966, and the on-going Bui Resettlement Programme projected to be completed in 2013.

The first forced resettlement started in 1956 and involved the resettlement of some Frafra, a tribe in the Northern Region of Ghana. They were moved from their traditional lands because of overpopulation and were settled on more fertile and sparsely populated land at Damongo in the Gonja District in the Northern region of Ghana. Despite the provision of land, a house and a bullock and a plough as incentive, it was difficult to persuade the people to leave the security of their own areas for the unknown. By 1958 only 149 families had moved and even those who had moved still sent their dead back 'home', two hundred miles away. Other challenges included land tenure, relationship between settlers and local traditional authorities and political resentment of loss of population in the area of origin (Chambers, 1970).

The second forced resettlement was the Tema village resettlement which "was a great success" (Chambers, 1970, p.106). This resettlement was as a result of the need to build a harbour and a modern town at Tema 18 miles east of Accra. There was strong resistance from the local people and Moxon (1969, p.161) describes them as "the turbulent Tema fishermen". The

people objected to their traditional home being used to build a town for 'strangers', they felt they would lose the traditional protection of their village site and would become landless. "They were unsure their gods could be moved and did not understand why the government think their community was 'unfit' to live in the proposed new town. They argued that they were not 'chickens to be driven into already-built "coops" or "cassava trees" to be uprooted and planted anywhere" (Chambers, 1970, p.106).

After six years of delay due to hostility and suspicion, in January 1959 a resettlement team was appointed. It consisted of a resettlement officer (a senior Administrative Officer), a Social Welfare Officer, and twenty Community Development Assistants (CDAS). The objective of this office was to build good relationship with the people which worked well for the resettlement to take place through the 'Personal-friend-trusted-guide-and-counsellor' relationship. The delay in resettlement increased the problems of house allocation in the new village because the population doubled from between 4,000 and 6,000 in 1952 to 12,000 in 1959 and some families had to live in temporary aluminium sheet houses. A programme was mounted where the affected people were taught how to use the modern amenities provided for them like flush latrines, toilet rolls and dustbins. According to Chambers (1970) the Tema experience influenced policies adopted for the Akosombo resettlement.

5.4 The Volta River Project (VRP)

Plans for the VRP begun in 1915 and construction started in 1961 by Impresit-Circola- Lodigiani of Milan and E. Recchi of Turin, an Italian consortium. It involved the construction of a rock-filled dam 370 feet high and 2,100 feet long, a saddle dam, a spillway structure, a powerhouse and intake structure (VRP contract, 1961). A loan of about £35 million was obtained from the World Bank, the United States and the United Kingdom Governments, for the VRP estimated to be paid between 20 and 25 years (Funds for Volta, 1961).

The Ghanaian government bore the cost of resettling the affected people from its coffers. The resultant Volta Lake covers approximately four per cent of the total area of the country and a boundary line of about 4,500 miles. The Akosombo dam was scheduled to be completed in 1966, until 1963 when Kaiser (the contractor) changed his intention to build the dam in four years instead of seven (Moxon, 1969). Due to the change in the number of years for the construction of

the dam, two and half years was left for resettlement before the dam started filling. About 740 towns and village were flooded, 15,000 houses destroyed and 80,000 displaced. The ethnicities of the displaced are Ewes, Akwamus, Guans, Krobos, Kwahus, Krachis and Gonjas. The Government declared as its aim that no one should, as a result of the project, be worse off than before and that the new conditions should be as good as the old, if not better (New homes, 1963). The preparations for resettlement included valuation of properties to be inundated, such as buildings, crops and economic trees, and sociological data including composition of households, numbers and types of houses. The University of Ghana undertook all the necessary research works for the preservation of the natural, social and cultural artefacts and heritage of the people to be displaced (Volta basin research project, 1963).

An estimated £61, 152, 000 was budgeted for the health, compensation and resettlement of the people whose areas would be flooded. Kalitsi the resettlement officer, established a central office, comprising social, workers, architects and town planners, soil scientist and agricultural officers, surveyors, valuers, lawyers, engineers and public health and education officers from the ministries of Social Welfare, Agriculture, Work and Housing, Education and Justice, and their associated Divisions and Departments and the Volta River Secretariat. Godfrey Amarteifio who was part of the resettlement team in the Tema resettlement was the principal welfare officer for Kalitsi. The Resettlement Unit was established with a two-fold purpose. Firstly, it is to provide housing for those displaced and secondly, to give them farmlands. Plus amenities such as water supply system, latrines, schools and markets (Moxon, 1969).

Commander Jackson's Commission proposed a self-help resettlement programme in carefully planned stages. Settlers were to build their new homes themselves, with such technical and material assistance as might be needed. This would keep costs down and the men occupied. Moreover, it would prevent them from developing the dangerous, apathetic attitude that the Government would do everything for them – an attitude which would lead to a loss of initiative and enterprise (*Ibid*). Jackson's proposals were, put aside in 1956 until the Kaiser proposals on the dam construction had been accepted and financed early in 1962. Due to Kaiser's change of plan to build the dam in four years instead of seven, it was quite impossible for the settlers themselves to build their own houses. But the fact that they should be encouraged to participate remained a valid point. Hence 'core' houses were mass-produced at about £350 apiece: having

an aluminium sheeting roof supported on pre-cast concrete pillars, large enough to cover the cemented floor space of two rooms, a cooking porch and a verandah porch. However, only one room (the core) with walls of landcrete blocks – moulded under pressure by a hand-press from earth and cement – was completed so the scope for self-help would still remain. The resettlement team worked on a broad regional scheme and evolved a master plan of new towns, villages, communications and industries, which served as a useful guide to the development of the 52 resettlement towns, replacing the 740 villages. Clearing of farmlands took second place to that of town sites and access roads, due to the urgency for houses that towards the end of the 1965, only 16 of the 52 resettlement townships had had their farmlands cleared. Farmers were therefore encouraged to clear their three-acre plots allocated to them in order to benefit from food items under Project 356 (Moxon, 1969). Meaning the free food provided under ‘Project 70’ during the evacuation period lasted for a maximum of two years. Speaking to an international audience of specialist in March 1965 Kobla Kalitsi, the Resettlement chief, stated that “soon after evacuation into the first township had been substantially completed, he said ‘a survey showed that the people were already leaving that town for other villages or drifting back to the water to set up fishing camps. One hopes that this drift will be seasonal and that the people will farm the lake for fish and also farm the land being supplied to them and make the settlement towns their permanent homes. It is possible that they may not, and if they don’t, we cannot plant it on them If that ever happens we would have wasted over £8 million of Ghana’s valuable investible funds and we would also have ruined the lives of 80,000 people and shattered the country’s finest opportunity to introduce into society cells of change to activate the whole rural population of Ghana. The spectre of a ghost town hangs over every settlement we have built!’” (*Ibid*, p.179).

Most researchers acknowledge the fact that the settlements had major problems, including poor design, inadequate water supply, slow clearance of farmland, poor soil and inadequacy of coverage and of pricing of properties. Different tribes were thrown together into standardized housing in settlements much larger and more compact than their original villages. Most settlers, however, did not confer with the self-help housing. Within four years, the majority of the people had settled elsewhere. Cultural problems included the abandonment of gods, shrines, graves of ancestors, church buildings and other fondly remembered places. Furthermore, the youth did not have the chance of experiencing cultural practices and traditions in their

original habitat. There was also reduction in economic activities because the affected people lost their previous sources of income including land, crops, houses and other properties; hence many had to find new sources of income. Both settlements and the towns lying in the Volta Delta were promised electricity in exchange for their cooperation. However, this promise was only fulfilled decades after the construction of the dam. The Volta basin at the time of displacement was not only large, but it was isolated, difficult to access and had minimal infrastructure. The basin was also unhealthy with insect-borne diseases like malaria, river blindness, sleeping sickness and water borne diseases like bilharzia. Incidence of some of the water borne diseases like bilharzia and hookworm increased after the dam was constructed. Besides, the people forced to resettle and the people from areas adjoining the river and downstream of the lake were also strongly affected in a likewise manner (Gyau-Boakye, 2001).

A positive health impact, which arose from the development of the Volta Lake is the eradication of the river blindness disease caused by the simulium fly, associated with fast flowing water (Kalitsi, 2003). The creation of VRP led to the creation of jobs in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy, including engineers, doctors, teachers, carpenters and traders. It increased industries, enhanced irrigation farming (Afram Plains), improved navigation and increased fish stock (Gyau-Boakye, 2001). Fortunately or unfortunately, the aluminium and bauxite smelter for which the dam was constructed to supply power to could not materialize.

Due to the poor living conditions of the inhabitants of the 52 VRA resettlement townships, the Government of Ghana and the VRA in 1996 established the VRA Resettlement Trust Fund with contribution mainly from VRA, the Cedis equivalent of five hundred thousand USD [\$500,000.00] annually. This is used to undertake development projects as a means of alleviating suffering in the resettlement communities (VRA Annual Report, 2004).

Figure 4: From left, a two room resettlement house, a clinic and a primary school complex funded by the VRA resettlement Trust Fund at Dasaase (Senchi Resettlement Town).



Source: Researchers' own photos from field.

5.5 Lessons Learnt from the Akosombo resettlement in Ghana

Significant environmental and social issues were faced with the development of the Akosombo Lake on the Volta River for hydropower generation and other multi-purpose functions. The creation of the Lake and the regulation of the floodwaters of the Volta River brought numerous negative impacts on the lives of the communities living upstream, along the banks and downstream. The major impact was socio-economic. In order to properly mitigate the environmental and socio-economic concerns of hydropower developments, the following lessons learnt from the Akosombo hydropower development in Ghana have been suggested to be used at Bui.

There is need for detailed and extensive studies during the planning phase long before the implementation time. These studies will have to be intensified during implementation and the results used to modify the plans. With environmental data gathered before and during the construction and filling stages, it was possible to plan mitigation and eradication measures, and to monitor and assess changes in the ecosystem. Such planning should not be static but be adjusted as new conditions arise. During the Akosombo resettlement, in spite of initial environmental and social studies before the dam construction started, when it came to actual implementation before the dam began to fill the information available was found to be inadequate. This was how VRA found itself compelled to provide its dislocated people with

uniform core houses not related to the value of their properties affected.⁴ To ensure effective mitigation of environmental effects, environmental costs should always be factored into costs of producing power and reflect in the price of electricity. This is because tropical reservoirs create conditions for waterborne diseases such as bilharzia to increase. The developmental objectives are funded on the basis of economic and financial cost benefit analyses but these do not adequately incorporate social and environmental implications. Every effort should be made to widen the cost and benefit studies. Additionally, beneficiaries of development activities are not necessarily the same as the communities immediately affected. For example, the benefits of electricity and irrigation may go to urban communities and industries whereas it is the local community which gets exposed to bilharzia and whose livelihoods are disrupted. According to Kalitsi, on-going thinking is that those who sacrifice must be fully compensated by those who benefit. Since it is not easy to fully define these costs and the distribution of the benefits, it is better to err on the side of generosity to the local communities affected. Achieving this, calls for a continuous assessment on the sharing of benefits and assessment of costs. Concurrently, reservoirs create opportunities for irrigation, urban water supply, navigation, fishing and other development activities which can contribute to improve the lives of affected communities.

Forty five years after relocation, settlements, host communities and downstream communities in the lower Volta, are, by and large dissatisfied about the resettlement process and package. During project development, efforts were made to enhance public awareness of the project and involve local communities in aspects, which affect them. These were done partly through discussions at the legislature, at special purpose committees, incorporating as many stakeholders and interested participants as possible, and through public education campaigns in

⁴The lessons from the Akosombo resettlement cited in this section were identified by the head of the resettlement office who undertook the Akosombo resettlement (Kalitsi, 2003). I could not access the 'Volta Resettlement Symposium Papers' therefore, empirical data from Dasaase settlement under Akosombo resettlement will be used in addition to these lessons and other information from chapter five on the history of state organised forced resettlement in Ghana in the assessment of the Bui resettlement. Additionally, responses from officials of VRA real estate office concerning lessons of the Akosombo resettlements will be used.

the local communities (Kalitsi, 2003). In spite of all these preparations and efforts, people relocated still feel that their needs have not been adequately provided for. They feel that urban communities and industries have taken more of the project benefits in the form of cheap electricity while they the locals are left with the bane of public health problems, and inadequate compensation. Some of these people have suffered low incomes from reduced farm and fishing activities. People directly affected who should therefore be targets of intensive consultation and detailed planning of preventive and improvement measures should be the following: communities to be displaced by the project, communities in the watershed areas and communities of or on the bank of the river, host communities and communities downstream of the dams.

Time is a critical factor in the development of river basins. Policies for resettlement and compensation should be developed well ahead of dam construction. Thus all persons adversely affected by the formation of the reservoir should be properly and appropriately compensated in cash and in kind. The resettlement costs should cover all inundated properties including houses, farms and public facilities and a well-archived evidence of compensation maintained. In addition, all land encumbered for resettlement should be appropriately compensated. Proper legal title must also be given to each resettled family for houses and farmlands allocated to it. This will prevent and minimize post construction claims and also help to avoid later conflicts between the host communities and the settlers as experienced in Akosombo.

One of the lessons learned is that after implementation there is a tendency for developer's fatigue to set in. During the Akosombo resettlement, once the people were relocated and power started to be produced, the enthusiasm which characterized the initial socio-economic activity waned when this should have been the time for such activities to have been accelerated. Hence, the displaced did not benefit from the planned projects and these planned projects with time went down the drain causing financial loss to the state and the disruption of life for the displaced.

Thus, many lessons concerning resettlement through the Akosombo resettlement experience is known. Hence it is expected that proper planning and implementation process would be made with the on-going resettlement programme at Bui.

5.6 The Bui Hydroelectric Power Project (BHP)

BHP was conceived by Mr Albert Kitson in the 1920's when he visited the Bui gorge (Moxon, 1969). The BHP is located on the Black Volta River at the Bui gorge at the southern end of the Bui National Park in Ghana, between Bole (Northern Region) and Wenchi (Brong-Ahafo Region) districts in the northwest part of Ghana. BHP is approximately 150 kilometers (km) upstream of Lake Volta. The project includes a main dam and powerhouse at Bui Gorge and two saddle dams (ERM, 2007, p.6). The BHP will generate a net average annual energy of about 1000 gigawatt hour/year (GWh/yr) for an installed capacity of 400MW (EMR, 2007). The project is collaboration between the government of Ghana and Sino Hydro, a Chinese construction company. The project is funded largely by China Exim Bank and the Chinese government. The estimated cost of the project is US\$622 million, which will be the third major dam in Ghana. The resultant reservoir at maximum will cover an area of 20 kilometres wide and 40kilometres long (ERM, 2007).

The dam will permanently inundate over 440 km² of land, occupying 21% of the area of the Bui National Park, at full supply level, about 85 km of the riverbank and seven villages, with a total population of 1,216 (219 households). The affected communities are Agbegikuro, Bator, Brewohodi, Bui, Dam site, Dokokyina, Agbelikame (North and South) and Lucene, predominantly fishing and farming communities (ERM, 2007). Although the whole of Dokokyina will not be inundated, it will be relocated because the community will be surrounded on three sides by the reservoir (south, east and west). Large parts of their land for cultivation, grazing, hunting and collection of forest products, will also be submerged. The dam will also affect the Bui Camp, residence for the Game and Wildlife Officers of the Bui National Park.

Beside communities whose homes will be inundated, four villages of 93 households have been recognized to lose farmlands (ERM, 2007). All the affected villages settled in the area within the last century, with the exception of Dokokyina which was settled approximately 200 years ago. The larger villages (Bui, Bator and Dokokyina) are largely composed of indigenes, while the smaller villages tend to consist of a wide variety of migrants. Ewe, Mo and Dagaaba are the most common ethnic groups in the villages. Additionally, there are smaller proportions of Banda and Burkinabe (*ibid*). Implementation of the resettlement programme has been divided into three parts namely; Phase A – Covering four communities living at the construction site;

Phase B- Covering three communities living in the area to be inundated; Phase C – Covering officials of the Game and Wildlife Division living at Bui Camp.

Religious beliefs are diverse and the education level of the people is low. According to the RPF, this low educational level could affect the ability of the affected people in restoring their livelihoods (ERM, 2007). Houses of the affected people were built with earthen and straw or tin roofs. House plots vary significantly in size, both within and between villages. Electricity, water and sanitation infrastructure, and waste management, are virtually non-existent. Households rely on wood and kerosene for energy, and hand pumps or the river for water. Valuation procedures have been carried out by qualified Ghanaian surveyors and valuers, and are based on the concept of full (as new) replacement values (ERM, 2007). The main elements of the Resettlement and Community Support Program include: Resettlement Townships with Community Centre, Nursery Schools, place of worship, boreholes, KVIPs, Houses (room for room, kitchen, bath and living room), compensation for loss of economic trees at Ghana Land Valuation Board (GLVB) rates and 100 Ghana Cedis monthly income support for a year. A Livelihoods Enhancement Programme (LEP) has been established to assist with rehabilitation of villages. This comprises assistance programmes for agriculture, fishing, trading, and grazing, hunting, and forest product collection. The programmes aim to improve livelihoods over and above pre-project levels, through the establishment of committees, business development programmes and micro-credit facilities.

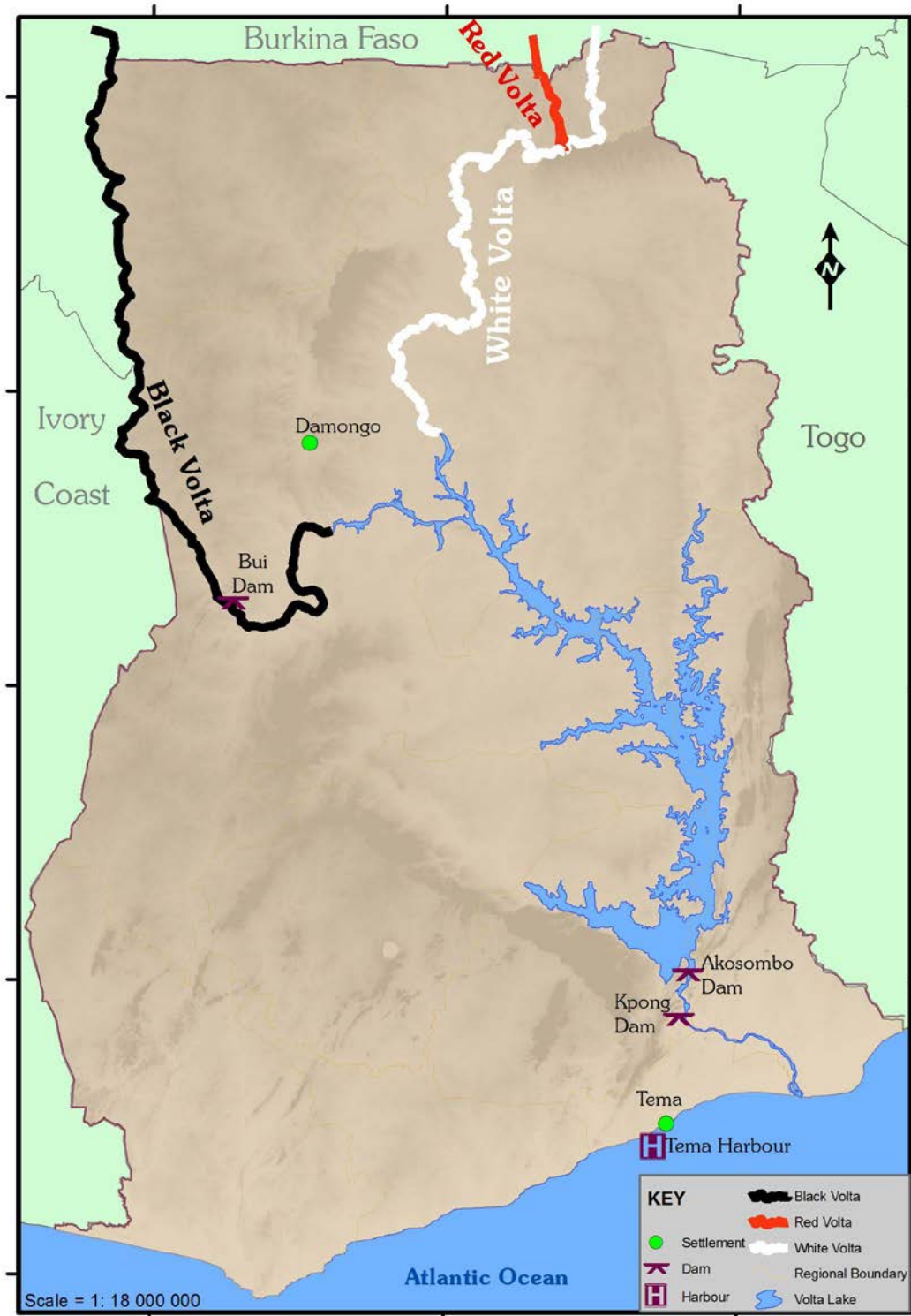
The Bui project is recommended as an additional source of electricity, job creation, security of supply of electricity, and lower carbon dioxide emissions.

Figure 5: From left, the Black Volta River flowing through the forest at the Bui gorge, the Bui dam under construction and the Bui village preparing to be resettled



Source: Researcher's own photos from the field.

Figure 6: A map showing the three dams, the Tema and Damongo settlements and the Volta Rivers in Ghana



Source: Researcher's own construct (2011).

6 Chapter Six: Evaluating the Planning and Implementation Process of the Bui RPF

6.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on analysis of documents and primary data from the resettlement officials and the affected people. The documents involved are the Resettlement Planning Framework (RPF) for Bui, the World Bank Operational Policy (OP 4.12) on involuntary resettlement, lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlement programme and the Ghanaian law requirements for resettlement. The last three documents and the objective of the RPF served as a guide and reference point in planning the Bui resettlement. The objective of the RPF is “To ensure that the Bui Dam project improves people’s economic opportunities and living conditions and minimizes adverse impacts while also providing remedial measures for those adverse impacts that are unavoidable, particularly among the communities most directly affected by resettlement either through physical displacement or loss of economic resources” (ERM, 2007, p.1).

The 1992 Constitution of the republic of Ghana according to the RPF also states that “where a compulsory acquisition or possession of land affected by the State involves displacement of any inhabitants, the state shall resettle the displaced inhabitants on suitable alternative land with due regard for their economic well being and social and cultural values” (ERM, 2007, p.2). The World Bank OP (4.12) explains that involuntary resettlement may cause severe long-term hardship, impoverishment, and environmental damage unless appropriate measures are carefully planned and carried out. The World Bank’s OPs overall objectives on involuntary resettlement therefore include:

(a) Involuntary resettlement should be avoided where feasible, or minimized, exploring all viable alternative project designs.

(b) Where it is not feasible to avoid resettlement, resettlement activities should be conceived and executed as sustainable development programs, providing sufficient investment resources to enable the persons displaced by the project to share in project benefits. Displaced persons should be meaningfully consulted and should have opportunities to participate in planning and implementing resettlement programmes.

(c) Displaced persons should be assisted in their efforts to improve their livelihoods and standards of living or at least to restore them, in real terms, to pre-displacement levels or to levels prevailing prior to the beginning of project implementation, whichever is higher.

The analysis below is structured in accordance with the objectives of the World Bank OP (4.12) since the Ghanaian law on resettlement encompasses all the objectives of the OPs of the World Bank of these categories of involuntary resettlements. These objectives may be categorised into sustainable development programmes with investment resources, consultation and participation, assistance to restore or improve livelihoods and standard of living, the right to private property, eminent domain of state and compensation payment.

6.2 The Right to Private Property, Eminent Domain and the Payment of Compensation

“Every person has the right to own property either alone or in association with others” (Article 18(1), Constitution of Ghana (1992) (ERM, 2007, p.51). “No person shall be subjected to interference with the privacy of his home, property, correspondence or communication except in accordance with law and as may be necessary in a free and democratic society for public safety or the economic well being of the country, for the protection of the rights and freedom of others” (1992 Constitution of Ghana, Article 18(2) as cited in ERM, 2007, p.51).

According to the Ghanaian State Lands Act of 1963, section 6(1) (ERM, 2007, p.52), “any person who suffers any loss or damage as a result of construction, rehabilitation, maintenance ... shall be entitled to compensation. Claim for compensation under Section 1 of the same Act states that “claims must be made through the minister in the prescribed form not more than three months after the date of declaration made by the president with any form of title that is legal in the form of deeds, leaseholds, or legally binding tenancy agreement to receive compensation”.

The World Bank OP (4.12) on eligibility for benefit proposes that a survey should be undertaken to identify those to be affected to discourage the inflow of those ineligible to compensation. The World Bank’s policy expresses the need for an assessment of compensation through a formal legal claim to land, claims without legal proof, but under laws recognized by the state through a process identified in the resettlement plan and also those who do not have recognizable legal right or claim to the land they are occupying. In summary, it could be said that

the World Bank’s policy on compensation advocates that all persons affected by a project are entitled to compensation with or without proof and the resettlement plan for the project must ensure this.

In view of the World Bank OP’s (4.12) requirement on eligibility, the RPF states that persons covered under paragraph 15 (a) and (b) will be provided with land for the land they lose with other assistance. However, persons under paragraph 15(c) of the World Bank Policy will be provided resettlement assistance in lieu of compensation for the land they occupy and other assistance, as necessary, under the conditions that the people occupy the project area prior to a cut-off date established by the borrower and acceptable to the Bank. All persons included in paragraphs 15 (a), (b) or (c) are provided compensation for loss of assets other than land (ERM, 2007). The RPF on eligibility also states that, “All persons who are directly affected economically by the loss of residence, business, land, or economic livelihood are eligible for compensation in proportion to the extent of loss, taking into account any special requirements of vulnerable groups” (ERM, 2007, p.83).

Table 2: Categories of affected people eligible to compensation

Eligible Group	Resettlement Package
Group1: Resettled Households	Full resettlement and rehabilitation measures, to be assessed for each household based on assets and crop inventory
Group 2: Households losing only land	Compensation for loss of assets associated with inundated land – land, crops and trees, grazing and forest products. Livelihood Enhancement Programme for households losing more than 20% of their land.
Group 3: Host Community	Rehabilitation measures relating to pressure on natural resources, public infrastructure, and social services.

Source: ERM (2007: IV)

From the above provisions for compensation in the RPF in relation to the Ghanaian laws on compensation and the World Bank's OPs (4.12) for compensation, the compensation process is at least to restore the affected people to the state they were before the displacement. However, one may ask, could the quality and quantity of land given as compensation be equal to the one lost to the project? This question is important to be addressed since, experience from Akosombo suggests that replacement lands were of lesser quality to the lands lost and in some cases lands have not been replaced (Kalitsi, 2003). Table two above suggests that, all affected persons will be compensated in one way or another. However, group 2, which encompasses households losing only land, has a clause that households losing less than 20% of their lands are not entitled to Livelihood Enhancement Programme (LEP). According to Cernea (as cited in Turton, 2006, p.16), "empirical evidence shows that loss of land is the principal form of decapitalization and pauperisation' of forced resettlers and that settling displaced people back on cultivable land ... are the heart of the matter in reconstructing livelihoods". However, according to the ERM (2007), LEP was to provide a "safety net" for those households for whom the distribution to economic and social networks, and to livelihoods, may heighten the risk of vulnerability and increased poverty, with all its negative consequences. It will also seek opportunities to improve livelihoods compared to pre-project levels, and will also cover impacts on the host communities.

During the focus group discussion at Gyama New Settlement, respondents complained bitterly about the fact that the resettlement lands provided for them were weedy, rocky, insect infested and infertile. They believe these lands have been extensively cultivated by the host community and the reason for it lying fallow. One of the farmers stated: *"I use to sell trucks of yam yearly when I was at Dam Site but look at me now; I can hardly even get a tuber of yam to eat. We are hungry here. The land does not even support the cultivation of groundnuts [meaning the soil cannot support both deep and shallow rooted crops, hence it is not fertile to support farming of any crop]. Another farmer explained: "It is not that we have not told BPA officials or elders of Gyama Host Community. The resettlement officer asked me personally to go round everyone's farm and check those who are having challenges with the spear grass, I did so and gave him my findings but they have not replied us. We met one of the elders who gave us the land and we discussed this problem, that when you cultivate and harvest yam you find that some ants have pierced through the yam, indicating that the land had been farmed for a long time and it's*

not fertile any more to support farming activities. He said we have to buy insecticides and other chemicals to control these insects. But all these control measures involves money and the little we have we have used it in preparing the land and first cultivation”.

When I asked an elder of Gyama Host Community about the fertility of the lands allocated to the settler’s, he responded saying: *“They complain their land is not fertile and this applies to the whole area, but if you want to make a land fertile there are fertilizers so they should apply it. I also told them that if you are farming and the lands are infertile come and see us and tell us you want a land elsewhere. Most of them are not farming where they chose initially. But this other land you will have to pay like the Dagaba’s (migrants) are paying. During yam festival they are to bring 20 tubers of yam, a cock and 20 Ghana Cedis [USD13.13]”.* A BPA officer on the other hand did not give any explicit answer to the same question but responded *“we are working with guidelines and cannot go against it”.*

The responses of the chief and the resettlement officer portray the truth in the complaints of the settlers. Additionally, it exposes the inadequacy of the plans made and brings out the fact that there is a great difference between restoring a land by size, and restoring by size and quality.

Furthermore, comparing the Bui resettlement plan with that of Akosombo as a basis for learning, Bui’s resettlement in the aspect of finding suitable lands for the displaced have fallen short. This is because according to Chambers (1970) in the Akosombo resettlement, extension officers, soil scientist and agronomist were employed as part of the resettlement team, who examined the soil of the lands before giving to settlers for farming. They also assisted farmers by preparing their lands for them and ensured that their farms were thriving. In the situation where direct assistance in preparing farms was not available, farmers were given incentives in the form of food to help them prepare their land and establish their farms (*ibid*).

The RPF records that land ownership in the Bui Dam area comprises predominantly ‘skin lands’⁵ with pockets of family lands as owners of the Allodial title⁶. Members of the land-owning skins and families have the customary freehold right to the lands. Migrants and other non-members of the land-owning skins and families access land through various traditional methods such as renting and share cropping (ERM, 2007). The situation of unfertile ‘compensation’ lands has made previous land owners landless migrants because they now have to rent farmlands from the host community. As suggested by one of the elders, they have to rent and pay as the migrants (*Dagaaba*’s) in the community do. However, the plan or interviews did not explain the payment system in renting or sharecropping and the social network in the community to know whether the situation at the resettlement area is the same as their former community or not. This would have helped us to know how vulnerable settlers have become due to their displacement. This opens an avenue for further research work.

In view of the above discussion, Article 20(3) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, which requires that all displaced inhabitants of State acquire land must be resettled on suitable alternative land, has not been realized. Additionally, assessment of the compensation package was to a large extent not fulfilled. This is because in many rural areas in the developing nations, the landless and those with small lands are the most vulnerable (Cernea as cited in Turton, 2006, p.16). The RPF has therefore failed to protect such people by not giving them additional support. This unfortunate situation could have been avoided through the active involvement of the displaced in planning the RPF. Their concerns would have been known and this knowledge would have helped made a better policy.

Another side of this discussion is the issue of eminent domain and compensation. In Ghana, eminent domain is manned by four major legislations. The Bui dam acquisition was made through the Ghanaian State Lands Act, 1962 (Act 125). The Act provides for compensation payment base on market or replacement values. Article 20(1) of the 1992 Ghanaian constitution

⁵Skin Land: This is the title of community lands managed by chiefs in the three northern regions of Ghana. The term “skin land” is used because the chiefs of these regions sit on the skin of animals as their royal thrones.

⁶The Allodial title is the absolute title in land in Ghana whose holder has no restriction on his rights of user or obligations, other than any obligations or restrictions imposed by the laws of Ghana generally. The allodial title refers to the control over the use and occupation of land in a sense which is not secondary or derivative. It is held by stools or skins, families and clans, depending on the social and political organization of the community (RPF, 2007:64).

states that “compulsory acquisition” and “expropriation” by the state can only be done if it is for public benefit and has reasonable justification. Additionally, Article 20(2) of the same constitution requires that the above should be done under a law which provides for prompt payment of fair and adequate compensation with the right of access to the High Court by any person who has an interest, directly or on appeal from any other authority, to help determine his interest or right and the amount of compensation to which he is entitled (ERM, 2007, p.51).

Table two above was drafted based on the laws above to guide resettlement officials in the compensation process. However, evidence from the field in relation to the above issue of land infertility suggests otherwise. A respondent from Gyama New Settlement said: *“If we have been paid the cash compensation for our crops which were destroyed we could even use that to buy insecticides and fertilizers for our farms, but look it’s over two years now and we have not been paid”*. Another farmer commented: *“With the nature of the land even if you go in for loan to help you farm you will run at a loss and your lenders will come after you”*. An elder of Gyama Host Community on the issue of land, eminent domain and compensation said: *“Obtaining an area to be resettled has been very easy for the displaced now in Gyama New Settlement because they just approached us that in view of the dam construction and the destruction of their homes they would like to be resettled with us. They chose the area they want but could not specify the actual size of land they would need. After discussing this we came to an agreement to give them the land, so we gave out the land free of charge and there was no time limits attached as well. Therefore, there is no condition whatsoever attached to the land by way of payment, size, and distribution. They therefore acquired the land just by asking. I understand the government has acquired vast portions of land in this area including here but until now the lands have not been surveyed for us to know how much of our land has been acquired so that in the future we can get the due compensation. What I was told broadly is that it’s being worked on but how it is being done we don’t know and frankly we have been telling BPA officials that we are just living in the dark”*. Section four of the RPF resettlement entitlement matrix in appendix two explains how compensation will be paid to stools⁷, “equivalent land provided in the new area, land titles

⁷ ‘Stool’ is the royal throne used by the chiefs in the middle and southern parts of Ghana. Hence the traditional or community lands in these areas are referred to as “stool lands”.

transferred and transition allowance paid until alternative land is allocated” (ERM, 2007, p.109). However, responses from Gyama New Settlement and Gyama Host Community both suggest that some attempts have been made in order to achieve these goals but after two years success has been very low if non-existent.

Additionally, the meeting between the resettlement officer and the people of Bui Village confirmed the challenges surrounding the payment of compensations. The people complained about the need to increase the 50 Ghana Cedis [USD32.81] support for clearing new farmlands. They explained that the 50 Ghana Cedis support for clearing new farmlands agreement was reached over two years ago. Inflation from that time has led to an increase in the amount charged for clearing an acre of land. The resettlement officer argued that the people should be grateful that they are being supported and should not make outrageous demands.

But the people still argued that if their crop compensation was paid, it would have reduced the burden of funding the preparation of new farmlands. The people questioned the resettlement officer “*are you waiting for the value of the money of our crop compensation to depreciate as is the case with this support money before you pay us*”? One of the farmers murmured: “*They are saying that since 2002 a budget has already been made to cater for the compensation. So if in 2002, a mango tree cost 2 Ghana Cedis [USD1.3] then we have already lost so much because of inflation and other economic irregularities. We are in 2010, eight years difference*”. Furthermore, appendix 3 shows a note of authority (right of entry) made for the affected people for the acquisition of their land through the eminent domain of the state and how they will be compensated. A careful look at the note, ‘right of entry’, reveals that it was drafted openly and vague, giving the government the right to commence its construction activities. However, although it states the right of the displaced to compensation, it is so vague that it could take eternity to be fulfilled. An elder of Dasaase explained how impossible and waste of time and resources it was to appeal for redress when one is aggrieved by the compensation process. He stated that one may end up using all the money he or she will get from the compensation to pay for the lawyer he or she hires due to the structures and processing in place. An assessment of the 1962 State Lands Act (125) by the Ghana Highway Authority (GHA) revealed that the Act has a limitation in the area of public consultation and involvement in the acquisition process (GHA, unpublished). With such a situation, could development come from resettlement? Or can this

process be an alternative to the modernisation process of achieving development? Answers to these questions can be found in the consultation and participation section.

According to an official of VRA, lands are acquired compulsorily because usually the land involved is very vast and many different groups and owners are involved. Hence, it is not likely that all stakeholders will give their consent through a private treaty. It may just be impossible to consult all affected persons, and thirdly, you may not even know who owns the land and might end up negotiating with the wrong person.

However, there is another formally recognised means of acquiring land by the Ghanaian Government besides the eminent domain which is the 'vested land' acquisition process. The Vested land acquisition process gives government the chance to acquire land for public good through proper consultation and participation of interested parties and compensation payment well executed. This is because a 'vested land' is managed by Government on behalf of the original owners and these owners have equitable interest from the land. With this process Government must come to fair agreement with the owners of the land and the owners of the land get to be lifetime stakeholders in the benefits accrued by their property. This is a sentiment shared by the settled people at Dasaase (Senchi resettlement town) and a dream of the affected people of Bui Village, *"to be lifetime beneficiaries of the project to which they are sacrificing a lot"*. This is what Cernea and Mathur (2008) call investment financing in addition to compensation.

Additionally, I believe before moving people, their assets must be restored; hence a compensation budget must be added to that of the dam and funds sourced as one project. The programme designed to aid the restoration process I think must commence before evacuation. Furthermore, the resettlement programme needs to create an office for officials like valuers, soil scientist, surveyors and accountants to speed up the compensation payment process. Planning in this I think will help considerably knowing that compensation payment was delayed in the Akosombo resettlement and some people are still yet to be compensated due to the bureaucratic process of processing compensation entitlements at Ghana Land Valuation Board (GLVB). Based on lessons learnt from Akosombo, Kalitsi (2003) advised on prompt payment of compensation and the keeping of proper records on the affected people and the compensation due each community or household.

According to an official of VRA, during compensation, it is only land and building owners who are compensated, but not tenants. In section two of appendix two, tenants were to be compensated which is a very good decision, but its execution is a challenge because even building and landowners have not been compensated or given a reliable assurance. Moreover, compensation is being paid at market value which diminishes with time. An official of VRA recommends that after the payment of the lump sum there must be some form of periodic payments or royalties (provided the chiefs and elders of the affected communities would not embezzle such funds). Additionally, land acquisition and displacement comes with issues of severance⁸, injurious affection⁹ and disturbance¹⁰. Hence, compensation must not be paid at market value. In order not for “so much to rest on so little” (Cernea & Mathur, 2008, p.6), there is the need for land owners and the displaced to be lifetime stakeholders and beneficiaries of the project. Additionally, according to Kalitsi (2003) since it is not easy to fully define the costs and the distribution of the benefits in forced resettlement, it is better to err on the side of generosity to the local communities. To achieve this there is need for a continuous assessment on the sharing of benefits and assessment of costs. Hence, project officials must not think they are doing the displaced a favour by paying them what is rightfully theirs.

During the Akosombo resettlement, VRA cleared the land for the farmers, hence if BPA would not do likewise the best is to find out the cost for clearing an acre of land and pay the settlers accordingly. Additionally, since there is going to be a high demand for labour to clear the land while supply of the labour force is limited, labour will be expensive, hence there is the need to make additional provision of maybe 20 per cent increment (thus labour cost with a little top up). The additional provision would cover up for inflation and other unforeseen contingencies. Base on Kalitsi’s (2003) notes on lessons learnt from Akosombo, time is an essential commodity in forced resettlement. Hence, it is not enough for policies on compensation to be developed ahead of time but also these policies must be appropriate and compensation paid in cash and kind

⁸ Severance is compensation paid on remaining land after the needed portion has been acquired. This payment is made because the remaining portion cannot serve its previous purpose any longer.

⁹ Injurious affection is the payment made to person’s whose land has not been acquired but the acquisition and the use to which their neighbouring land is put adversely affect it.

¹⁰ Disturbance is the compensation paid for the sudden disruption in the daily activities of people whose land have been acquired.

on time. This will help avoid post construction claims and conflicts between host and settler communities. Additionally, this will save the affected people the hardship and embarrassment of asking for assistance, which makes them look like opportunists. This is because they kept saying that if their crop compensations were paid they would have used it in preparing their new farmlands.

In summary, the right to participate being an important action for the affected people to receive what is due them have not been exercised well. Practical steps must therefore be made to enforce the laws and policies on securing the rights of individuals to restore their properties through the right to participate. This is important because Ghana is a democratic state and a signatory to the international human rights laws. Effective participation is capable of solving the situation of inappropriate and delayed compensation to a good degree. For instance, the demand of the displaced to be lifetime beneficiaries of the project would have cropped up, during discussion on planning for the resettlement. Structures such as special law courts could be set up for forced resettlement projects or priority given to such cases. This will help affected persons seek redress in time when aggrieved. Lawyers should be provided by the state to defend affected people who are aggrieved and would like to receive redress. This will not only be a protection of the rights of affected people but will also help the government protect the rights of its citizens.

6.3 Assistance to Restore or Improve Livelihoods

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana requires that resettlement should be done on suitable alternative land with due regard for the economic well-being and social and cultural values of the displaced persons (ERM, 2007). The RPF therefore planned assistance for the displaced as follows

Farming: Includes business planning, land preparation, extension services, micro-credit, crop packages and land access assistance.

Fishing: The key principle is to ensure that fishermen and women are given access to equivalent or improved fishing grounds. This includes establishment of fishing association, business planning, micro-credit, storage, transport and processing refrigeration facilities as well as development of alternative livelihoods. The alternative livelihoods include agricultural development, development of small service enterprises, artisanal workshops and appropriate skills training for other livelihoods that are identified and for which there is a demand.

Trading: Includes access to markets, six month support to help traders identify new customers and suppliers as well as business planning and micro-credit and the construction of market stalls.

Grazing, hunting and forest product collection, which have been identified as supplementary income sources especially during the low season of farming and fishing will be restored by giving affected households suitable lands or forest for grazing, hunting and forest product collection (ERM, 2007).

The earlier discussion about the right to property, eminent domain and compensation revealed that the support planned for farming has barely been executed. No businesses have been planned for the farmers, the support for land preparation is insufficient, no extension service has been given to the farmers, and neither has micro-credit or crop packages been executed. Additionally, farmers are to access fertile lands on their own without any support from BPA despite their complaints that the resettlement lands which were given to them are infertile.

Regarding fishing, fishermen from Gyama New Settlement and Bui Village explained that since the dam construction started they have been banned from fishing completely. One of the fishermen at Gyama New Settlement stated: *“Formally one could eat and wash his hand in the river but now just look at the distance and restrictions. This is what is creating the poverty and hunger”*. Another fisherman lamented: *“This is really troubling us, because we were with our food and you asked that we move so you can do something good for the whole country. Now we have moved and if we want to come back for our food you say no and even take it from us when we harvest some and sometimes detain us for hours in a metal shipping container. Even when one wants to cross to the other side of the river they say no, this is really disturbing us”*. At Bui Village, a fisherman commented: *“Even now because of the blockage in the flow of the river due to the dam construction, fishing is no longer attractive. I do not think when we move to the new place we can ever continue fishing because the dam takes all the water and the river will never overflow its banks again for the fish to lay eggs for them to multiply. We have made BPA aware that we will not be able to fish any longer and they told us that they will give us livelihood training to help move into other activities. The settlers at Gyama New Settlement have been resettled for two years now and their livelihood programme has not yet started and we fishermen were told we will not be given lands since we are not farmers. This is worrisome”*.

A BPA resettlement official explained that the restriction is to protect the people since rocks are blasted and the blockage of the river has caused it to rise. Additionally, the disobedience of one of the fishermen has led to his death the previous year. When I cross checked about the death and the safety of the fishermen at Gyama New Settlement, one of the fishermen explained: *“We all know the times for blasting and they even blow a siren so we will definitely hear and leave the site. We go fishing when they are not at work but withdraw the moment we realize they have started working. Yet they will still not allow us to fish and now what to eat has become so difficult. Formally we could go fishing about thrice or twice daily but now even once have become a big problem. They are asking us to fish down the bridge where the water is shallow and you can even see the rocks in the water and trees all over. That is not a good site for fishing; you fish in an area with high water like a reservoir. They come to work in the morning between 6:00 to 7:00 am and break for lunch at 12 noon and in the evening close at 5:30pm and resume at 7:00pm. So we want to make use of these break times for our fishing activities. We were using the proceeds from that little fishing to survive, but now when you go they will arrest and detain you for close to 12 hours. They have served us with a notice to send us to the police station if they find us fishing. This is our life and they are taking it from us. They just want to kill us; we are more or less like slaves.*

An elder of Gyama Host Community contributed to this debate saying: *“Although they have been resettled here they are not all that settled. Although they have built so called houses for them they are happier in their old communities than in the settlement. There are so many restrictions from BPA, for instance, the spots they catch fish, these engineers do not know where fish can be obtained than these fishermen because they are concerned about their safety”*. Going by the RPF plans concerning fishing, the on-going debate between BPA officials and the affected people revealed that BPA has not fulfilled what has been planned in the RPF. No equivalent or improved fishing grounds have been made available to these fishermen. In sum, none of the plans made concerning fishing for the affected people have been implemented.

Additionally, trading among the affected women has come to a halt. They explained that it is when farms are thriving and there is abundant fish catch that they can trade since farm produce and fish are the commodities they sell. But since both areas are facing so many challenges and they can hardly get what to eat; their trading activities have become impossible.

Once again, the plan made concerning trade has not been executed despite the glaring challenges and effect of this delay on the lives of the affected people. The issue of grazing, hunting and forest product collection did not come up in any of the discussions or interviews.

Furthermore, the Livelihood Enhancement Programme (LEP) is another means proposed to restore or improve the lives of the displaced. LEP is to provide a “safety net” for those households for whom the distribution to economic and social networks, and to livelihoods, may heighten the risk of vulnerability and increased poverty, with all its negative consequences. It will also seek opportunities to improve livelihoods compared to pre-project levels, and will also cover impacts on the host communities. This will be done through an NGO overseen by the LEP Committee, which will comprise traditional authority representative of the organisation responsible for implementing the Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), the Resettlement Coordinator, and a representative of the Livelihoods NGO (ERM, 2007, p.96). The LEP targets include farming, fishing, trading, grazing, hunting and collection of forest products. A BPA official explained: *“The livelihood enhancement programme is going to run for about two years and that’s why the monthly support was for a year. We believe by the time the livelihood enhancement programme the settlers would have obtained a profession to earn some income to support themselves. This is importance because of the change in environment. The LEP programmes are in conformity with what the settlers use to do. They will be thought things such as co-operatives but it’s going to be many different things so whatever one thinks it suits him or her you can go for it”*.

However, after my interviews at Gyama New Settlement, I realised that the LEP has not begun. The settlers think if it has been implemented as planned it would have eased their suffering in one way or another. Upon inquiring why the plan has not been implemented an official of BPA explained: *“We realised it will be expensive to do the LEP in accordance with the resettlement phases. Hence we have changed the plans, we want to finish the resettlements and then organise the people in groups so they can form cooperatives to be able to access certain benefits such as loans, it is much convenient and less expensive this way”*. Besides the delay in implementing the RPF, the LEP planning and decision makers of what the LEP should constitute and how it should be undertaken was devoid of the beneficiaries. The LEP also targets only major livelihood activities, but at the same time seeks to be a safety net for vulnerable

people. How can such an arrangement possibly benefit the vulnerable among the affected people? The resources available to an average person in a community are usually not the same for a vulnerable person. Therefore, their livelihood activities will not be the same.

Another important support programme, which came up during the discussions and interviews was the resettlement grants and allowances. The resettlement grant according to an officer at BPA was a sum of 100 Ghana Cedis [USD65.63] for each person being resettled including infants. The resettlement allowance support on the other hand was a monthly allowance of 100 Ghana Cedis [USD65.63] for each affected household and would last for a year. I have not come across these grants in the ERM report but they have been stated on BPA website. However, according to officials at BPA, the monthly allowance grant serves the purpose of providing food for the people. This was because they realized providing food was more expensive and they will not be able to provide diverse food items. Therefore, the grant was to prevent the “one-way” food provided during the Akosombo resettlement programme. Hence, BPA thought that giving the affected people money to buy their own food is the best. However, the settlers think the 100 Ghana Cedis [USD65.53] is insufficient.

Analysing to know the sufficiency of the monthly allowance grant, I use the standard Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) which the World Bank uses in for example estimating consumption and Human Development Index among countries (Moss, 2011). In 2005, it was pegged at USD1.25. Thus anybody living below a daily PPP of USD1.25 is poor. It has been realised that a threshold analysis of poverty is not the best, with one of the reason's being that the negative effects of poverty tend to be continuous rather than discrete, and that the same low income affects different people in different ways. However, this quantitative picture of the daily amount of money spent by a settler with respect to the monthly allowance grant under the Bui resettlement project is important in having an idea about the level of sufficiency of the allowance. With reference to the data on demographic profile of the villages, I selected Dam site and Brewohodi which have the largest and lowest average household sizes of 7.2 and 3.6 respectively (ERM, 2007, p.20). The daily PPP of each household member is 0.45 Ghana Cedis

(USD0.30) and 0.9 Ghana Cedis (USD0.59) in the largest and smallest families respectively¹¹. With these results, the affected people can be said to be poor since they are living below the PPP minimum threshold. This explains the fact that although beautiful plans have been made they have not yet been implemented. Provisions have neither been made to cater for the livelihood activity needs of farmers, fishermen and traders for the past two years at Gyama New Settlement. The LEP planned to commence a year after resettlement could not materialise because of changes in plans. Corresponding changes in the number of years of support must have been made to cater for the lapses. Unfortunately, this was not done. Hence, the inadequate provisions and restrictions on fishing have resulted in hunger and poverty among the settlers. An elder of Gyama Host Community therefore describing the settlers as unsettled and unhappy compared to their previous ways of life.

The above information has revealed that the plans made to support the displaced were to some extent not thoroughly assessed; hence changes had to be made along the way. These changes in the long run have been detrimental to the displaced, causing them to distrust BPA officials. Additionally, not repeating exactly what was done at Akosombo does not mean other choices selected must not be properly evaluated or critically assessed. The fact that a provision is a support means that people must be given in accordance with their needs and not compulsorily uniform, which could breed jealousy and confusion since the affected people are living together and find themselves in the same situation. Resettlement encompasses a wide range of issues, which are integrated and must therefore be critically examined in their interconnectedness weighing all pros and cons before making the final choice. I believe if the decision on the number of years of income support was made with the affected people they would have felt responsible and connected with the outcome and this unfortunate situation might have been avoided altogether. This is because the settlers are calculating that if you move them and they are

¹¹ To find the daily spending money I used 31 which is the highest number of days in a month and the highest number of months with such days. Calculating for Dam Site, I divided 100 Ghana Cedis by 7.2 persons giving each person 13.9 Ghana Cedis. When you divide 13.9 by 31 days gives each household member 0.45 Ghana Cedis [0.30 USD cents] as his or her daily allowance. Calculating for the least I divided 100 Ghana Cedis by 3.6 which resulted in 27.8 Ghana Cedis for the month. I then divided 27.8 by 31 days giving 0.9 Ghana Cedis [0.59 USD cents].

supposed to start a new farm, cassava (a staple) takes between one and half years to two years to mature. Hence, they argued that the assistance should have been provided at least until their first harvest. A VRA official agrees with them and thinks the monthly assistance should have been for a minimum of two years. It can therefore be said that assistance given so far has not restored the lives of the displaced let alone to improve it.

6.4 Consultation and Participation

“The concept of participation has been subject to lengthy debates regarding its historical origin, its theoretical grounding and practical applicability, and its critical connotations.... Yet participation is one of the most important concepts in development cooperation because it is potentially a vehicle for different stakeholders to influence development strategies and interventions. Rather than dismissing participation for being blurred, the challenge for the development researcher and practitioner suggests that one must define what she or he means” (Mikkelsen, 2005, p.53). Hence, this section will analyse the RPF and World Bank’s definitions of consultation and participation because this process has the ability to enable us determine whether the RPF’s objective could be realised or not, based on the nature of participation being used. The RPF recognises the participation of stakeholders as fundamental to the success of the resettlement process. Stakeholder consultation aims at providing information about the project and its impact on those affected and to solicit their opinion. It also attempts to manage expectations and misconceptions regarding the project and to agree on resettlement preferences and to discuss concerns. The process of focus group discussions and surveys were used at the local community and national level consultations, especially with regards to activities to be undertaken both before and after resettlement (ERM, 2007). This definition means that the displaced will be informed about what BPA has for them with explanations or reasons behind the choices BPA has made on their behalf. However, the displaced have the freedom to discuss their concerns regarding the plans with the authorities. This mode of participation was exactly what I met operating at Bui during the field studies.

This definition relegates participation and consultation to their conventional meaning, whereby participation and consultation simply mean being told of a situation. In this situation not all information will be given to the affected people. Only the information which BPA officials

think concerns the affected people and those which the officials think the affected people should have will be given to them. The key reason for undertaking participation and consultation in the resettlement process is to manage expectations and misconceptions regarding the project and to agree on resettlement preferences and discuss concerns.

The World Bank's OP (4.12) defines participation and consultation such that displaced persons should be meaningfully consulted and should have opportunities to participate in planning and implementing resettlement programmes (paragraph 2[b]). It further requires that the resettlement plan or framework include measures to ensure that "the displaced persons are ... consulted on, offered choices, and provided with technically and economically feasible resettlement alternatives. It also proposes that displaced persons and their communities, and any host communities receiving them, are provided with timely and relevant information, consulted on resettlement options and offered opportunities to participate in planning, implementing and monitoring resettlement. The World Bank's OP (4.12) provides a detailed outline of the elements of a participation plan: "Involvement of resettlers and host communities, including:

- (a) A description of the strategy for consultation with and participation of resettlers and hosts in the design and implementation of the resettlement activities;
- (b) A summary of the views expressed and how these views were taken into account in preparing the resettlement plan;
- (c) A review of the resettlement alternatives presented and choices made by displaced persons regarding options available to them, including choices related to forms of compensation and resettlement assistance, to relocating as individuals, families or as parts of pre-existing communities or kinship groups, to sustaining existing patterns of group organization, and to retaining access to cultural property (e.g. places of worship, pilgrimage centres, cemeteries), and

Institutionalized arrangements by which displaced people can communicate their concerns to authorities throughout planning and implementation, and measures to ensure that such vulnerable groups as indigenous people, ethnic minorities, the landless and women are adequately represented" (World Bank Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook as cited in the ERM, 2007, p.113). The World Bank's definition of participation and consultation implies that the planning and implementation of resettlement policies and programmes must be done with the affected

persons giving the displaced (including vulnerable groups) all relevant information and empowering the displaced to make maximum use of the information they receive through well established institutions and policies. This will help them contribute meaningfully in the planning, implementation and monitoring phases of their resettlement.

A BPA officer explained that they have consulted and involved the people in planning and implementing the resettlement programme by telling them what BPA has for them. The people have the freedom to negotiate with BPA on what they think about the offer being given to them. As a result of such negotiations, an additional room has been added to the initial number of rooms needed to be restored unto the affected people. However, such an agreement was reached with the people of Bui Village who are in the phase B of the resettlement process under the RPF. Hence, the resettlement office is planning to add one room to that of the people settled at Gyama New Settlement. The meeting between the BPA officer and the people of Bui village concerning the increment in the grant for clearing new farmlands proves that the consultation and participation type being used at Bui is that of the affected people being merely informed about decisions made with very limited opportunity for affected people to influence these decisions. Thus, after the people of Bui Village had been informed of the offer BPA had for them, they had persisted with phone calls, letters, casual enquiries and visits to the BPA offices. This was to know the progress of their request on the nature of infrastructure, sponsorship, livelihood activities and other things they want as part of the resettlement package. At the meeting, some of the people made the BPA officer aware they do not trust him, based on his actions and responses to their questions. On the other hand, an elder of the village also thinks, despite the inconsistencies in the flow of information and decision making process, they need to be patient in dealing with BPA officials. He stated that the officer has proved to them that BPA knows its responsibilities towards them and advised the officer that it would be wise for the chief executive of BPA to respond to their letter or meet with them since the officer could not answer all their questions because he does not have much power. This made the officer looked like a liar. He continued that the income support for clearing new farmlands must be enough so they can see the contribution BPA has made in helping them start new farms. He asked the officer to cross-check their claims with neighbouring villages so they will be sure they are not using the situation to enrich themselves. One of the farmers also advised his colleagues and the officer saying, “We

want you to help us very well so we forget about the losses and inconvenience we have faced due to the dam project. To my fellow farmers let us go and look at the land and start planning on how we can farm the moment we are given the support before the farming season ends. Many times farmers say they need a loan to farm and wait till the money come before they begin to farm and they end up planting at the wrong time. Then you will hear that some people have taken loans but could not pay. This is one of the major causes. So please let us try our best. They will bring the money but the farming season might have elapsed. No NGO can force government to pay our compensation, so please whatever problem or grievance we have let us discuss with BPA than wait to tell an official from an NGO. They may disappoint us. The work BPA is doing is good. They are humans and can make errors, so please if you see anything going wrong let them know. Some of us have been to the construction site and have observed the quality work being done for over two hours. The building contractors have told us that BPA officers are always there checking on the quality and progress of work. Please officer, if we do anything wrong you also correct us and being a large group there is bound to be divergent views so please deal patiently with us”.

To know when and how the people were informed, consulted and began participating in the decision making process of the dam construction and their resettlement, an elder of Bui Village explained that the site has been identified since 1925, and various governments promised to construct the dam but could not. But ex-president Kuffour of Ghana made the dam construction a campaign promise and was included in the political party’s manifesto; hence he was more or less forced to fulfil his promise. However, the involvement of the people of Bui village in the project began in 2008 when they were asked to choose where they would like to be resettled. They were told the plans of the Bui Township and a model of the houses to be built for them as well as other infrastructures which will be provided for them including markets, clinics and schools. However, work did not commence until June 2010. The people wrote to BPA informing them about the type of schools, market and other infrastructures stated by BPA. Additionally, they requested for a museum, lorry station and livelihood empowerment in the areas of grass-cutter farming, poultry, snail raring among others. These expectations expressed by the affected people, they said were in accordance with the changes they foresee the

displacement and subsequent resettlement would bring to their life. However, at the time of my visit, they have not received any response from BPA and therefore their meeting with the officer.

The definition and situation on the ground reveals that participation and consultation has been used as a cosmetic label, making the proposal to appear good. “Donor agencies and governments require participatory approaches and consultants and managers say that they will be used, and then later that they have been used, while the reality has often been top-down in traditional style” (Chambers as cited in Mikkelsen 2005, p.54). Hence, it can be said that what happened in terms of participation and consultation in Akosombo is almost the same as what is happening at Bui. The only reason why the affected people are not stranded due to flood is that the number of people displaced by the Bui project is just about 1/8 of those displaced at Akosombo and inundation has not began. Although the RPF tries to learn from the Akosombo experience, its process in achieving a successful resettlement than Akosombo, unfortunately is almost the same as occurred in Akosombo. This is because at Akosombo, the plans for resettlement were made for the people. The people were only told of the project and the plans for their resettlement. An example is that, the elders of Dasaase and that of Senchi in the field explained how the displaced people of Dasaase came to ask for a place to stay just as it has happened with the Gyama new settlement because their area was going to be flooded.

Additionally, the RPF was drafted by an Environmental Resource Management (ERM) company and it was assessed by the Environmental Protection Agency of Ghana (EPA). This has compounded the resettlement process challenges at Bui because the resettlement officials themselves were not part of those who drafted the plan. This was the situation with Akosombo where the plans were drafted by the Jackson Commission but Kalitsi and his team had to implement the plans. At least Kalitsi had a team comprising all other experts needed in the resettlement process. But the resettlement office at BPA does not have any connection with surveyors, valuers or any expert related with the resettlement. They call on such experts as and when they need their services but not as a coordinated system aiming at a common goal. The lack of participation and consultation with resettlement officials and other experts needed in the resettlement process is a great contributing factor to the changes in plans, the challenges in the implementation process and the ultimate risk of not achieving the said objective of the RPF.

However, the case of Bui Village is a little different. The type of participation going on between the people of Bui Village and BPA may be classified as participation by mobilizing for empowerment. The people of Bui Village had this opportunity because the GDD has created awareness among the people on the need to negotiate for good resettlement package in order not to end up like the settlers in Akosombo. GDD has organized trips to the resettlement areas under Akosombo for the people of Bui Village and has organised annual forum for all dam affected communities in the country. Issues raised at the forum have given the people of Bui Village a good knowledge of their future if they do not participate actively and influence decisions to their benefit. However, as explained by De Wet (2006) communities sometimes may be organised but would not be able to have things done as they articulate their concerns on their own. But if they form coalition with a stronger organisation their concerns might be quickly addressed. The people of Bui Village are trying their best to be heard, but BPA is not responding or taking them seriously. An official of BPA stated that no NGO can force them to do anything and the farmer advising his brothers stated that no NGO can change the mind of the government. I think this unfortunate mindset is one key reason hindering the affected people from influencing decisions to their favour by collating with a stronger organisation or forming a pressure group.

An ex-official involved in the Akosombo resettlement had this to say about the planning and implementation process at Bui regarding participation and consultation: *“I have a feeling they have downgraded the challenges associated with displaced people. Although the people involved are small, I think they are more concerned with challenges of the technical programme. The harmonious relationship I encouraged BPA and VRA to have I believe did not happen because of political reasons”*. An official from GDD also stated concerning participation and consultation: *“I think it is better than what happened in Akosombo. This is because at Akosombo, no Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was conducted and many records tell us people were forced out of their homes by the floods because of low or absence in participation. But now the communities can speak and their views are heard. These improvements anyway are nothing special because we are in an era where communication mediums are diverse, and so if you do not let the people talk they can find means of talking, for instance on the radio. It is unlike formally when people did not have phones to call or radios to hear what was happening around the world. In big projects many times that is what happens; one just tries to behave like a*

politician to hear and flow with the people and assure them that things will be done. Afterwards you then have to lobby people and to convince them, which may take years, so they are given a lot of promises but the fulfilment might come later, which is very common in most developing countries”.

Comparing the level of participation and consultation between the Akosombo and the Bui dam projects, Bui could have been much better due to the small number of people involved, the numerous modes of communication available (radio, television, mobile phones, letters, emails), the easy accessibility of the area and the time which was available to prepare for resettlement before construction and inundation. Effective participation means influencing decisions, not simply being informed about planning and implementation; this is an essential component of political life (Freeney as cited in De Wet, 2006). For a person to participate actively and meaningfully, studies have shown that the person must be well informed and equipped. For people to make use of the information available to them there must also be institutional set-ups which would facilitate the effective participation of people in the decision making process.

However, in the case of Bui it has not been so despite the numerous advantages and opportunities BPA and the affected people have in terms of easy consultation and information sharing. One of the reasons why this has happened is because as said by the top official of VRA, a harmonious relationship which would have caused VRA to guide BPA in planning and undertaking the resettlement at Bui did not happen. Additionally, the officers of Bui have underestimated the work involved in resettlement since they lack experience. Hence, the phase ‘A’ of the resettlement process (Gyama New Settlement) was rushed just as happened in Akosombo. This rush can be seen in the quality of houses and farmlands given to the people in addition to the uncertainties as to how their basic needs should be managed. However, phase ‘B’ (involving Bui Village and others) has been gradual and the people have had enough information concerning what BPA is doing, plans BPA has and what occurred in Akosombo, hence they could negotiate to some extent. One important hindrance to the effective participation of the affected people is the sovereign authority of the central government and the fact that DID is an internal matter. Hence, NGOs and International organisations have very limited power to influence the decisions of the national government. This sentiment was shared by the farmer who advised his colleagues that it is better to negotiate gradually with BPA than hope to be defended

by an NGO. An elder at Dasaase also expressed the fact that it is difficult for a citizen to claim what rightfully belongs to him or her from the state than the state taking from a citizen. In such a situation one wonders where the freedom and justice motto of Ghana is experienced and where international human rights of which Ghana is a signatory is enforced. This situation also proves the argument of Hickey and Mohan (2004) that there is need for theory to be successfully integrated with ideology. Hence, if Ghana is practicing alternative development and expects to obtain transformation in the quality of life of its citizenry, it must think of and integrate participation with a right-based agenda.

6.5 Sustainable Development Programs with Investment Resources

To evaluate plans made to achieve sustainable development using investment resources, the section on housing, infrastructure and social services in the RPF is the most appropriate. This section in the RPF describes key principles relating to the provision of housing, infrastructure such as water supply, and social services such as health services to the resettled population, and to ensure comparable services are provided to host populations. Regarding housing, the general principle is to provide new houses that are an improvement on existing housing conditions. Under this principle a key issue, which came into focus was the self-help housing strategy. However, the plan resolved that due to the Akosombo experience with self-help housing, the strategy should be avoided. But in appendix four, the document of temporal relocation of the phase A resettlement group states that affected persons will build their own houses but with the building materials provided by BPA. But, these houses were finally built by the Sino Hydro Company of China. However, it has been explained that the self-help with Akosombo could not happen because of time. Additionally, if feeding the displaced under the BHP has become a huddle for BPA, how then could the people be asked to build their resettlement houses and not go about their livelihood activities? Would they have been paid or fed? Additionally, the design of the houses was planned to be in a manner that is sympathetic to traditional architectural styles, while at the same time addressing people's aspirations to improve/modernise their houses and have more hygienic surroundings. Specifications for the houses include permanent structures on

‘a room for a room’¹² basis; all houses should be provided with a bath area and an enclosed compound; all houses should be provided with a kitchen and roofed with aluminium sheeting or tiles.

In the areas of infrastructure and social services, the principle is to replace access to all infrastructure and social services, and to improve it wherever possible. These provisions are to be extended to the host community as an incentive to accept incoming households and facilitate integration between host and settler communities. Infrastructural facilities include electricity, water, latrines and roads. Social services include health, education and markets. Services at the time of resettlement in the area have been observed to be rudimentary or non-existent (ERM, 2007, p.III). Evidence of executed projects on the above infrastructural facilities is as follows:

The first is housing, the evaluation of houses was done using Gyama New Settlement. This is because it is the only resettlement with completed and inhabited houses. During the focus group discussion, almost all the inhabitants of the community were unhappy with their houses in one way or another. One of the settlers said: *“The rooms are so small that you cannot feel comfortable; you do not know how to pack your belongings and where to put your head. The door locks are all spoiled, when you are going to bed you are even afraid someone might come and steal your belongings. Some time ago they came telling us that they have not received money for the Bui City yet, meaning this place has become permanent and if so then the things they need to do, so, we will be comfortable that is what we are looking forward to. We have been to the new construction site for the next batch of resettlers [phase B] and the quality of houses being built compared to ours, theirs are spacious and much bigger compared to our crowded and small houses”*.

Some reported that their roofs are leaking and they have to clean whenever it rains, while others said that their houses are located in waterlogged areas and it is almost impossible to live in their houses in the rainy season. Another settler explained how impossible it was to take a nap in the afternoons due to the aluminium roofing; he compared the current house to the previous ones they had, saying that their old houses although roofed with straw and thatch did not leak no

¹² The ‘room for room’ idea means that the exact number of rooms a person or household will lose due to the displacement will be replaced during resettlement.

matter the intensity of rain and was cool to take a nap in the afternoon. Contributing to the above reports one of the settlers said: *“When they were bringing us here they said everything we are having is temporal. They said this was because we needed to be moved quickly and that after building the Bui City they will relocate us again, but we have not heard anything again. Now they recently told us that there have been changes in the houses so they will come and improve ours. I am a little confused so now we want changes. It’s been two years now”*. Appendix four shows the document of the temporal relocation of the first group of the displaced people. When questioned on the improvement of the resettlement houses, comparing Bui to Akosombo, an official of the GDD had this to say: *“If within two years the resettlement houses are leaking and locks are broken then it can’t serve the people for long. I do not expect BPA to repair the houses for the affected people forever, but if the people are complaining with this short time after construction, then the houses were not built properly, which is unfortunate. But it seems they are improving on the houses on the second phase B, which I see as improvement on the first phase A houses, and they are improvement on the houses provided at Akosombo as well”*.

The resettlement officials of BPA explained the situation saying that they are going to add a room to each household at Gyama New Settlement, because the area is no longer temporal but permanent since the Bui City will not happen anytime soon. However, one may ask about the individual toilet, living and store rooms provided in phase B of the project, which are not available at the Gyama New Settlement. This situation means that the formally planned temporal area is being turned into a permanent area with only an additional room for each household. From the observations conducted, spaces between the houses at Gyama New Settlement are a challenge to expansion since they are very small. One of the respondents explained that the spaces between the houses are small. Hence, the settlement seems crowded. An official of GDD also thinks Gyama New Settlement housing arrangement makes it look more like a camp than a community. It would have been very good to have the actual measurement of the rooms at Gyama New Settlement, Bui Village, and Akosombo to assess the difference in room sizes and the spaces between the houses. Another study could find out the exact measurements of these houses and its impact on the lives of its inhabitants.

Figure 7: From left a house under construction for phase ‘B’ at Bui, next a model of the house planned to be constructed and the third is a two room apartment with detached kitchen and bath at Gyama settlement



Source: Researcher’s own photos from the field.

The next infrastructure is electricity. Happily, electricity is available in Gyama New Settlement and the people did not have to wait for over thirty years as it was in the case of Akosombo. However, the settlers argue that before they were resettled they were told that the electricity will be connected for them in their homes. But, after resettlement they are being asked to wire their houses, buy their meter readers and connect the electricity to their homes themselves. An elder of Gyama Host Community commented on this issue saying: *“They were asking the government to wire their houses for them and I told them no. But initially BPA has promised them that so they have also kept it in their minds and expecting it. But now BPA is saying if you do not wire your own house you will not have electricity and that BPA will only wire the public facilities such as the community centre”*.

The third infrastructure is the bore hole. Two of these have been provided at Gyama New Settlement in accordance with the RPF. Gyama Host Community has their own two bore holes, and information from the area show that these four bore holes are used interchangeably between the host and settler communities. The resettlement official was happy about this relationship since they envisaged that having similar and common facilities would enhance integration among the host and settler communities. However, at the time of my visit the two bore holes at Gyama New Settlement provided by BPA were out of order and their repair had become a bone of contention. The resettlement officer explained that this is not the first time this is happening and that they have told the people to repair the bore holes themselves. An elder of Gyama Host Community also stated that he has advised the settlers to make contributions as is done at Gyama Host Community; so that when the bore hole is faulty the money will be used to fix it. An officer

of BPA advised the people of Gyama New Settlement to contribute money to buy the part of the bore hole which was out of order to be fixed by a member of the community said to have been trained. The settlers did not explain why they do not collect the money for the repairs as they have been advised. However, the one who was said to have been trained to repair the bore holes had this to say on his inability to play his role: *“I observed them (those building the bore holes) just for some few minutes. If it had been for even three days I could manage since I am a mechanic”*. I think the decision to train someone from the settlement who can repair the bore hole was a late decision since policies concerning the management of the facilities provided have not been mentioned in the RPF and the people of Gyama New Settlement feel BPA must fix the bore hole for them that is why they do not make the contributions for repairing the bore holes. A BPA official said a similar issue occurred concerning cleaning of the 24 seat toilet facility. He explained how the people came to report that their toilet was dirty and that the resettlement officers must come and clean it for them. The resettlement officers had to organise for the toilet facility to be cleaned and from then onwards explained to the people that they must clean the toilets themselves according to families and since then no one calls them to clean again.

Figure 8: From left, a bore hole at Gyama New Settlement, the 24 seats toilet at Gyama New Settlement and the third is a bore hole provided at Dasaase under the Akosombo resettlement



Source: Researcher’s own photos from field.

The last, but not the least, facilities to be discussed are roads, schools and hospitals. At the time of my visit there were no new roads in the resettlement area. The children from Gyama New Settlement at the primary level attend school in the host community, while children from Gyama Host Community also attend the nursery school in the resettlement community provided by BPA. There is a health post in Gyama Host Community but despite the increase in population due to

the resettlement it has not been upgraded. An elder of Gyama Host Community complained that this has led to increased pressure on drugs and other facilities in the clinic. A settler at Gyama stated: *“Our health is also another important issue, we are sharing Gyama’ clinic with them and with the increase in population there is always shortage of medicine. One is always referred to Bole hospital; they can’t even test pregnancy here”*.

The above situation revealed that the plan to provide for host communities along with resettlement communities to motivate host community to accept the incoming households has not been implemented after two years of resettlement. An elder of Gyama Host Community said the sound relationship between them and the settler’s is a result of brotherly love, the fact that they have been neighbouring communities and the fact that there have been intermarriages amongst them. Additionally, the situation has brought up the importance of careful planning for the maintenance of facilities provided during resettlements to ensure that they last long and serve the people meaningfully. It is not enough to say that we are not going to repeat what happened in Akosombo. Critical assessment and evaluation of the decisions and actions taken, which led to the problems at Akosombo must be given due attention. For instance, the limited time available for resettlement was the reason why the self-help housing programme could not be executed.

Figure 9: From left, nursery school at the Gyama New settlement, VRA resettlement trust fund primary school complex and a clinic provided at Dasaase (Senchi) resettlement under the Akosombo project.



Source: Researcher’s own photos’s from field.

BPA therefore cannot casually excuse their inability to conduct a self-help programme if it is the best to be done on the basis that it was a challenge at Akosombo. The dependency syndrome that resettlement officers were faced with in Akosombo is reoccurring at Bui because rules on the maintenance and sustainability of the facilities provided have not been made, let alone to be discussed to know whether the people can sustain the type of facilities being provided or not.

This is one of the major reasons why certain facilities are abandoned the moment it breaks down and resettlement officers are not willing to repair. An official at VRA responding to the challenge of dependency syndrome sometimes associated with settlers stated that, settlers always want to be pampered and treated as “special babies or enclaves”. The BPA resettlement office has identified the issue of dependency as a great challenge for the future. An officer said: *“The challenge I foresee in the future is to get the settlers to do things for themselves. What the authority has to do is to ensure that the LEP work and be successful or else we will be called upon every now and then. The company equally has to get a strong policy and have to sensitize the settlers that those communal amenities provided are for them and they need to make good use of them and maintain them to their own benefit”*.

This challenge of dependency syndrome coupled with few facilities provided, and the absence of a culture and sense of maintenance, is a hindrance to sustainable development programmes with investment resources. This is because the few facilities invested in are not maintained or managed well for the maximum profit to be accrued from them. If profit could be realised, it may be use to establish additional facilities over time. When I questioned why rules had not been made on the management of the facilities provided, for instance, as in the number of years or times these facilities will be supported, a BPA official responded that policy guidelines are now going to be formulated. Human beings naturally want to be comfortable and be served by others. One way BPA could have avoided this problem would have been to plan the resettlement with the people. BPA has enough time and example to guide them than VRA had. One important advantage realised in the use of participatory approach in development projects is the sense of responsibility by all participants in the decision and implementation stages. Moxon (1969), records how the Akosombo resettlement housing project was proposed by the Jackson’s Preparatory Commission to be self-help, where the people built their houses themselves with only technical and material assistance which would keep cost down, keep the men occupied at a time when the steady drift of their lives had been shattered, and when time might weigh heavily on their hands, and moreover would prevent them from developing the dangerous, apathetic attitude that the Government would do everything for them. An attitude which if once it became widespread would lead to a loss of initiative and enterprise at the very time when they were most needed. Hence, transparency and inclusion of the affected persons in the planning,

implementation and monitoring stages of resettlement have long been identified to be essential to the success of resettlement projects and the avoidance of the dependency syndrome. In the successful resettlement project stories such as the Egyptian part of the Aswan dam resettlement, Scudder (2003) explained that some of the lessons are not transferable. However, two lessons are important. The first is that incorporating settlers within an irrigation project can be useful in helping them to become project beneficiaries. The other emphasizes the importance of allowing settlers to pursue their own strategies for raising their living standards, as opposed to requiring them to follow the strategies of government planners. This example expresses the great importance of participation as an essential ingredient in achieving successful resettlement.

6.6 Concluding Discussion

Having a blueprint with an objective to learn from the past is a very laudable step taken by BPA in addition to using national and international guidelines to ensure that the best possible assistance is offered to the affected persons. Additionally, the World Bank's OPs (4.12) and the Ghanaian requirement law on resettlement are applicable and their successful utilization in drafting the RPF could have been done comfortably using the lessons learnt from the Akosombo resettlement. However, a number of issues have turned out to be a great challenge in achieving successful forced resettlement using the RPF.

Firstly, participation in planning the resettlement by resettlement officials and affected persons, who are an integral part in its successful implementation, was very low. The adverse effect of the exclusion of these people has resulted in the challenges in the implementation of the RPF. Kalitsi (2003) pointed out how the people affected by the Akosombo dam after 30 years are dissatisfied. He was surprised that despite the public awareness created, discussions and preparations with the people, things turned out bad with all the adverse effects like poor compensation, infertile lands, poor housing and diseases among the people. He therefore advised that the affected people should be adequately provided for or compensated. In doing this, these people should be targets of intensive consultations with detailed planning of preventive and improvement measures. These include communities displaced by the project, communities in the watershed areas, host communities and communities downstream. The assessment above has proved that, consultation and participation of these communities have been either very low or

absent at Bui. For instance, communities downstream have not been mentioned in the RPF and host communities have received very limited consultation and therefore their level of participation has been equally limited. Resettlement officials also seem to have just been handed the RPF and asked to implement it.

Another important observation I made of the RPF is the fact that the conventional meaning of participation (being informed) and livelihood (having a job, as with the LEP) were the approach used in drafting the RPF. Sustainable development with investment resources was also taken to mean the provision of physical infrastructure. Hence, the affected people at Bui have rarely had their livelihoods restored like many people displaced by dam projects. The usage of these archaic definitions has revealed that the knowledge of the planners of the RPF on forced resettlement is low and participation of people who could have given useful advice based on experience have also been either low or absent. This is because the responses from the affected people show that they have knowledge of recent developments on how things should go to achieve the best during forced resettlement by the kind assistance of GDD as well as their own knowledge on how they can best restore and improve their lives as a group of people and as individuals. The universities and VRA are important points of call regarding forced resettlement in Ghana. During the Akosombo resettlement the institutions of Geography, Archaeology, history, sociology and others were employed to help collect useful data on the people in order to make plans which will suit them.

Secondly, although the ERM Company planned the RPF of Bui and EPA assessed the RPF, the RPF did not focus much on the environmental effects of the dam on the lives of the affected people. Kalitsi (2003), writing on lessons learnt from Akosombo, made mention of how environmental changes caused by dam affects almost every aspect of life and must therefore be addressed rigorously. The ERM and its associate the SGS Environment are foreign companies. How well they have studied and understand the Ghanaian context in forced resettlement to have drafted the RPF is a question of great importance. I believe because these companies did not know much about forced resettlement and some of the pressing issues about it in Ghana made them lost sight of some important issues such as chieftaincy and power relations between host and settler communities. Furthermore, Kalitsi (2003) pointed out the need for extensive and continuous studies before and after forced resettlement. Advising that, these studies must be

intensified during implementation and the results used to modify the plans. However, the RPF draft was completed in January 2007 and the first resettlement was in May 2008. In the field, there were no social science surveyors collecting new data to improve the RPF. Resettlement officials used their discretion in making changes in the plans. The RPF is therefore a static and complete plan rather than the flexible dynamic planning process learned from Akosombo.

Thirdly, political administrative change which shortened the success of the Akosombo project can also be said to have affected the success of the Bui resettlement project. This is because change in government and political administration has led to the appointment of new directors and top decision making officials for the Bui project. To achieve successful forced resettlement programmes in Ghana, an important issue to be addressed is for party politics to be sidelined when it comes to national and citizenry development. National projects must be treated with national plans and policies not that of political parties, which have proved to mar the success of forced resettlement. During the in-depth interview with the ex-resettlement officer who undertook the Akosombo project, he stated that the harmonious relationship he advised to exist between VRA and BPA so that there would be easy flow of knowledge and experience regarding resettlement, he believe did not happen because of political reasons. How well could have the experience and lessons learnt from Akosombo guide the Bui resettlement? Is it not to have consultants from the experienced institution to help the new institution get on its feet without having to go through unnecessary pain of learning from mistakes? Some mistakes in forced resettlement are difficult to be corrected especially with developing countries where most of the ingredients needed in order to undertake successful resettlement is lacking or insufficient. Hence, experience is not the best teacher because one may never be able to recover from some experiences. In the field I realised that, BPA and VRA are two different government institutions although they are both hydropower generation institutions. Aside the experience of VRA in resettlement, the VRA has a lot of knowledge on Bui since it was the first Hydropower institution in Ghana and the three major dams which Bui is the last have had VRA working considerably on them, especially at the feasibility stages. For instance, the Volta Scope (1976) with the caption 'Back to Bui' gives account of how VRA officials and Russians had to live under very difficult circumstances of poor food and amenities in order to undertake a feasibility study on the establishment of a dam at Bui. Additionally, the resettlement at Bui would have

been very successful since the dams planning started way back in the 1950's and many studies have been done over the years. However, because the level of attention given to the dam was not given to the resettlement, the success of the resettlement programme has been reduced.

Fourthly, the knowledge available on Akosombo has not been used effectively in planning and implementing the Bui resettlement. I realised that the resettlement officials at Bui do not only lack in-depth knowledge of the Akosombo project, but they also lack experience and qualification on forced resettlement or humanitarian work. This was a concern which an official of VRA expressed, and that this was also a political effect. He stated that because of politics we even have ministers in positions they do not qualify to be in Ghana. This is one of the prime reasons for the inefficiency in most offices. It is not only the offices of medical doctors and engineers which must not be disturbed by politics; forced resettlement needs people with the right qualification and knowledge in order to attain success.

Finally, I will use the issue of Gyama New Settlement's inability to enjoy successful resettlement in closing this chapter. Under the BHP, Gyama New Settlement is the first settlement. From the issues raised above concerning the planning and implementation of the RPF, it is clear that first settlers face challenges of poor housing, inability to negotiate and participate for a better resettlement and compensation package, empty and false promises from officials, and in the end they are used more or less as a sample test for subsequent settlements which receive some form of improvement. The later settlements receive this improvement, because the resettlement officers and the other affected communities have the chance to see and learn from the situation of the first settlers. Gyama New Settlement is faced with issues such as small rooms, leaking roofs, crowded settlement, broken locks and infertile farmlands. Additionally, Gyama New Settlement which was planned to be temporary is now being turned into a permanent settlement with only one additional room for each household. The subsequent houses being built in phase 'B' however have more space between the houses and the rooms are much larger. Households also have private toilets and store rooms which are absent in Gyama New Settlement. The problems encountered by these first settlers have to do with not just the planning process at the ground level, but also the planning from the top government institutions. For instance, political will in ensuring that the rights of the affected persons are secured, with well established institutions to undertake the project in accordance with the Ghanaian

constitution and other rules used in drafting the RPF was absent. In fact it was the political will of Nkrumah's administration that 'no one should be made worse off due to the construction of the Akosombo dam. This was the main reason why the 80,000 people affected by the Akosombo dam received the amount of assistance they had and people did not lose their lives despite the lake taking more areas than estimated. With no prior experience, this huge number of displaced people was settled within a period of two and half years. On the whole I will say that, policy must be understood as practice or else it stands as an unproductive entity. Although, it is evident that some of the necessary inputs needed to make resettlement successful was not available and others insufficient, such as staff, if policies were effectively transformed into practices the Bui resettlement planning and implementation would have been much successful than it stands now.

7 Chapter Seven: Socio-Economic Impacts of the RPF at Community and Household Levels

7.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to analyse the socio-economic impacts of the RPF planning and implementation processes on the affected person's at the community and household levels. In this chapter, the specific and general as well as the long and short term impacts of the resettlement on the people at both community and household levels will be brought out. Special comparison and inference will be made with Dasaase settlement. According to De Wet (2006), scaling the impacts of a resettlement project help identify the causal factors which operate at various levels of comprehensiveness and incorporation in the project. Having knowledge of these impacts and how they may or are actually affecting the displaced will help determine whether the claims of De Wet, Cernea and Kalitsi for affected persons to be lifetime beneficiaries is worthwhile. Such claims will also help determine the ability of the resettlement process to yield a progressive development (on the part of affected persons) so that all persons benefit equally based on their losses, risk exposure and available provisions.

It is important to note that although an attempt is being made to scale up the impacts, the community and the household is closely knit. Furthermore, since household interviews were not conducted, it was not possible to obtain household experiences to show unique impacts. Hence, the analysis in this section is divided into four major headings, namely power structure (chieftaincy), community resources (properties), changes in demography and gender roles and livelihood transformations. The ability of the right to participate to determine whether the forcefully resettled can have a sustainable livelihood or not takes centre stage in this analysis.

7.2 Power Structure between Host and Settler Communities (Chieftaincy)

According to a VRA official, Chieftaincy is a major issue with regards to forced resettlement because during forced resettlement no one must be made worse off, hence chiefs must continue their reign in their areas of resettlement. However, host communities also have chiefs. Therefore, settlers do not owe allegiance to the chief of the host community. Appendix five explains how resettlements in three Kpando districts in the Volta Region of Ghana have appealed to the

government to resettle them to save them from injustices being perpetrated against them by the chiefs and people of Kpando Fesi, their host community. The youth of the host community apparently are destroying the farms of the settlers and they fire gun shots into the air haphazardly. This has brought economic activities of the settlers to a halt and their lives in danger. Additionally, efforts by the Member of Parliament of the area and VRA chief executives to solve the problem have been fruitless. Hence, these settlers have been forced to ask to be resettled in another area. This resettlement community has been with their host for over 46 years. However, the chief who gave the land when these groups were displaced by the Akosombo project is dead, and the new chief have imposed many conditions which the settlers cannot meet. Some of the conditions are that owners of all newly built houses on any of the VRA resettlement quarters were to pay 20 Ghana Cedis [USD13.23] and two bottles of foreign schnapps to the Afendza stool. Owners of buildings that fall outside the quarters, but are within the resettlement area, are to pay 30 Ghana Cedis [USD19.83], one live ram and four bottles of schnapps. Additionally, the settlers were compelled to attend communal labour at Fesi Township, while residents of the Fesi Township fail to attend communal labour at the settlements.

During interviews with BPA officials they responded at different instances that chieftaincy is not their issue and that they are at Bui only to build a dam, and that chieftaincy issues are too thorny for them to get involved. Hence, they are trying as much as possible to avoid getting mixed up in chieftaincy issues. They explained that every land has a chief and although the land has been acquired tradition cannot be bought. They said they expect the settlers to respect the traditions of their host and the host community return the respect to the settlers. In the case of Gyama Host Community, the settlers are all migrants and pay homage already to the Gyama chief before resettlement. However, one of the resettlement officials of BPA expressed his concern about the fact that the settlers think resettlement is independence and that the days of giving fish and chicken as gestures and paying homage to the Gyama chief are over. The official admitted that there is need for sound education to be given to settlers about the importance of respecting and continuing with their duties as settlers and they must even explain this unto their children to avoid similar conflicts as those occurring in some Akosombo settlements.

On the other hand, an elder of Bui Village expressed anger at the comments of a chief in the traditional area that they need to seek his permit before choosing a place to resettle. The elder

stated that it is all politics, explaining that the community does not need that chief's permit because they are also sons of the soil. He continued that where they were located at the time of my visit was not where they lived 30 years ago. He explained that the community keep moving based on the quality of the soil since they practice shifting cultivation. He explained, the Bui Village was founded very close to the bank of the Black Volta. Currently, the distance between the last house and the river is about five minutes walk. He concluded, saying confidently that they can stay anywhere. An official of BPA stated that under no circumstance would the people of Bui, Batore and Dokokyina accept to be called settlers (not being land owner or to have been moved elsewhere). Based on this I asked him what BPA would do if chieftaincy issues come up at Bui after the resettlement, as it has been happening in Akosombo resettlements. He answered they would send these issues to the National House of Chiefs. I therefore think that right from the start BPA should have sought the counsel of the National House of Chiefs on how best to sensitize both host and settler communities on the role of chieftaincy issues, which could come up during and after the resettlement planning and implementation processes. In this way, they will be avoiding the mistakes of Akosombo. However, this is also another evidence of the poor relationship between the two institutions, whose collaboration would have brought about much success in the Bui resettlement.

Additionally, an official of VRA thinks that many chiefs do not understand the term 'acquired land'. He believes that a new leadership and chieftaincy system could be reached when planning for resettlement in order to avoid all the bloody chieftaincy disputes, which many times emerged after resettlement. He cited the example of the Asanti Kingdom Traditional council where the 'Asantihene' have given other migrant chiefs a place in the traditional council and the chance to rule over their people, despite the fact that they are on Asanti land. In return, the settlers pay homage to Asantihene and deliberate on issues together at traditional council meetings. The VRA official gave another example of such chieftaincy arrangement in Ghana at Suhum in the Eastern region of Ghana. I will say that care must be taken in acquiring land for settlements. The population growth of host and settler communities in addition to cultural and social practices, which are linked with land, must be studied and the results used in allocating and acquiring land. Additionally, after allocating farmlands and other lands needed by settlers, the government should keep the rest and release them to either the host or settler community as

and when the need arises. Planning for finite resource, such as land during resettlement must be flexible so that it can be easily adjusted with changing circumstances.

This situation ushers in one important finding made between migrants who are displaced and settled on a foreign land and indigenous communities settled on their own indigenous land. The example above and occurrences in Gyama New Settlement where the host chief gets involved in every decision made by these migrants robs forcefully resettled persons on foreign lands of their freedom, causes social disarticulation, reduction in right to resources and powerlessness. This situation where settlers are viewed as migrants ('not part of us') hangs forever, no matter how the settler and host communities integrate. Even records will have it and remind both communities. This loss of power, is what leads to loss of almost everything and restoration or improvement thereafter difficult. Dasaase people, although live in peace with their host are still renting lands to farm and they do not have the best portions as the landowners have. Gyama New Settlement has begun experiencing the same situation. At Bui village, the elder who said no chief can ask them to seek permit from him to choose where they will be settled tells the power they still have over these resources although they have been displaced. A resettlement official of BPA responded cautiously that the people of Bui Village, Batore and Dokokyina will under no circumstance permit anyone to call them 'settlers' (as not being landowners). This tells us the difference between settlers living on their indigenous lands and settlers living on foreign lands. This power difference has implications for how much settlers can invest in their lives in their new settlement, whether they will live in these houses and make use of the common facilities provided for them or move out as well as the number of opportunities they can access to restore and improve their lives. This is where the issue of the right to participate upon which settlers are to draw the resources they have lost comes into focus. The ability of settlers to diversify their livelihood activities, depends on how much they are given as compensation and how much the host community can give them. Affected people's ability to negotiate their access to resources depends on how they use their right to participate with their host, resettlement officials as well as other social capital they can draw from agencies such as NGOs. From the resettlement process on-going at Bui, it is evident that because of GDD education of the affected people under the Bui dam project, the Bui Village has a greater bargaining power and is negotiating to help restore the other resources they have lost. Gyama New Settlement however, did not have the same chance

because their movement was rushed. It is not surprising that, Gyama settlers being migrants in the first place coupled with their on-going challenges are thinking of migrating if situations continue to persist.

7.3 Communal Resources (Properties)

Resources or properties include physical, natural, social, human, and capital resources. Examples include land, water, social amenities, the people and their socio-cultural heritage. Experience and interviews from Akosombo have revealed that resettlement puts pressure on every resource of the host and settler communities. While settlers have lost almost every resource, host communities have their resources reduced by having to share with the settlers.

Additionally, the Akosombo resettlements have shown that the growth of host and settler communities lead to struggle over resources, especially land. An elder of Senchi Ferry Town expressed the intent of the royal family to appeal to the government to release their land, which were acquired but have not been used and neither has compensations been paid. This is because their community is growing and they need the land for development projects, which settlers are selling on the basis that the lands belong to them since it has been acquired by government. An elder of Gyama Host Community thinks that although the government has not demarcated where it has acquired, neither has the royal family been told specifically how much compensation they are entitled to. No one can drive out the settlers in the future because they have intermarried. A VRA official explained how the host community of Vakpo in the Volta Region of Ghana, like the case at Fesi are fighting settlers over their land because subsequent chiefs and generations feel cheated due to the one time compensation paid. The VRA official explained that over half of the total land of the people of Vakpo of about 500 persons was given to a settler community of about 60 persons. The VRA official mentioned other areas under the Akosombo project such as Dedeso and Pesseh as confronted with similar issues. Additionally, as it stands, compensation is paid once. Hence, subsequent chiefs and generations feel jealous and cheated hence, vexing their anger on settlers. In Ghana, there is much evidence of traditional council division and family disputes over issues of land. Sibling even fight over land and many bloody issues result. Hence, the elder of Gyama' assertion that the settlers at Gyama will not have any problems in the future is far from real. More importantly, I observed that when the elder made this statement, a

subordinate with him was not pleased with the answer and this also tells how uncertain the future of the settlers at Gyama is.

An elder of Gyama Host Community explained how the settlers have put pressure on their farmlands, health post and other amenities. Furthermore, royalties they used to receive from the migrants (now settlers) have curtailed because of the resettlement, and although their lands have been acquired they have not been told how much they will be compensated. On the other hand, settlers feel that their fertile lands have been taken and compensated with infertile lands. They have also been restrained from fishing in the waters, which formerly they had free access to. Additionally, they feel the resettlement houses are not suitable compared with the mud and thatch houses they had previously. However, social amenities such as toilets, bore holes, community centre, school, street lights and electricity provided in the Gyama New Settlement is appreciated and the host community benefits from some of these amenities. However, they have to pay in one way or another to maintain these facilities such as the bore holes.

An official of VRA believes that due to the loss of resources on the path of both settler and host communities; there is a need to provide amenities for both communities. Hence, the sharing of amenities between the host and settler communities of Gyama is a step in the right direction if integrated development is to be achieved. Officials of BPA say they are very pleased with this, it is better than the Dasaase resettlement under Akosombo where settlers had to convert one of the houses whose owners did not occupy into a clinic, and are now connecting electricity into their town after forty five years of settlement.

Regarding land and water resources, the settlers are disappointed with the poor quality of the resettlement lands and the restriction on fishing. Settlers have to rent fertile land from their host community. They expressed how this has depreciated their livelihood activities, health and nutrition and their income to the extent that some livelihood activities, such as fishing and trading has come to a halt. An elder of Dasaase settlement recounted how the lands they were given during resettlement at Tamani were taken from them and given to the people of Batore, another displaced group, and their lands were not replaced again. They have ever since rented land from their host community. He expressed how this has resulted in the outmigration of the youth in search of better livelihood activities. Furthermore, this has caused the death of many elderly people who are forced to farm on hills far away from their homes because their children

have migrated. This explains how resources are interconnected and interdependent and together make up a person's life. A farmer from Gyama New Settlement forecasting the future effect of the inadequate resource compensation and restoration commented "*We have told them that we are all migrants. None of us is a son of the soil, so if they get us a place we will settle there and continue with our work, the reason why we are living here and not with our kinsmen*". This means that if the resources of the displaced are not replaced, the possibility of them moving out and abandoning the current facilities provided is high.

During an in-depth interview with an elderly woman at Dasaase, she stressed how the poor quality and number of rooms provided for them have destroyed the social capital, social safety and demographic structure of the community. She stated "*Some of my siblings are in Konongo, Kumasi and Accra; if there were houses or rooms you would have come to meet many people at home. Formerly, a person has so many rooms and stayed with his children, but now that is no more the reason why many of our people are migrants. All our children have migrated*".

Last, but not the least resource, to be discussed is the cultural heritage of communities. From the interviews and observations it became clear that resettlement causes host and settler communities to lose their original ways of life. This is because cultures are mixed through integration which is key for successful resettlement between host and settler communities. Hence, what emerges is a hybrid community which has some attributes of both host and settler communities. I cannot mention in this study which traits will be extinct from each community in this work. To find out we need to wait after a couple of decades after resettlement. The biological make up of the people in these communities due to intermarriages can even change. That is if resettlement is successful and integration between these two communities thrive. An elder of Bui Village expressed great concern about the establishment of the dam with accompanying projects like the Bui University and the Bui City, which the settlements are going to be a part of. He said there will be the introduction of new lifestyles, which will adulterate their culture. This is sure to happen since the Bui City is planned to be a metropolis. He was therefore particular about the need for an archaeological study before inundation and the subsequent establishment of a museum in the settlement to preserve and display the culture of the community to subsequent generations and to visitors who will come to see the dam. On BPA

website, there is evidence of archaeological excavations done. However, it has been planned that the findings will be sent to the University of Ghana Archaeology Department for preservation, studies and display just as was done for Akosombo. However, the people of Bui Village want the finds to be used to build a museum in their settlement from which they can generate revenue and also teach their children on how they lived before the resettlement. This issue portrays once again the exclusion of the affected people in the resettlement planning process. This is because the expectation of the people of Bui Village in their letter to BPA and the information on BPA website show that, although both parties think of preserving the cultural heritage, how the people want it done is different from that of BPA. If a participation and consultation process which empowers participants to influence decision was conducted, these differences could have been identified and solved. Rather than the current situation which stands as deceit and local people taken to be ignorant of what is best for them.

The discussions about all the above mentioned resources lost and the challenges surrounding their restoration all point out how the ability of the right to participate could help the displaced restore their resources. Because the affected people do not have a good social connection and relations with BPA and other stronger organisations which could have defended their cause and challenge the structures in place, they have not for example been able to restore their water resource and its attendant livelihood activity. Apparently, it is the right to participate of most forcefully displaced persons which help them get a place to be settled. The forefathers of Dasaase settlers were able to secure Senchi as a place to resettle because they were asked to choose a place to be resettled and they having a relationship already with the people of Senchi made it easier for them to seek assistance. The people of Gyama New Settlement also chose to settle with their host because they were asked to do so by the resettlement officials. It was easy for them to get a place at Gyama because they also already had a relationship with them. However, both Gyama and Dasaase settlers are finding it difficult to access the resources they have lost. Their ability to expand and strengthen their right to participate is what will help them restore the other resources, such as fertile land which will help increase their farm yield. It must be noted that as a group it may be difficult to enhance their right to participate to restore the other resources. However, a household with a good capability to participate with the elders of the host community will be able to negotiate to access resources to restore its lost resources. For

instance, a member or members of a household may negotiate with an elder (s) of the host community and will be able to secure a fertile land on loan, intensify its farming activity and through that restore the other resources lost with time.

7.4 Changes in the Demographic Structure and Gender Roles

Research has revealed that displacement leads to changes in demographic structure and gender roles. A widow at Gyama New Settlement explained how the restrictions on fishing with its attendant arrest and detainment gives her the fear of losing her son. She said, *“how will I eat and be protected if I lose my son, he is all I have”*. A fisherman’s wife explained the challenges the households of fishermen were facing. She said, *“Our husbands are always out trying to find a time to fish so they can bring in money. The children and wives of all fishermen are hungry”*.

During the discussion at Gyama New Settlement both men and woman expressed the desire to diversify their livelihood activities due to the poor soil, low farm yield, restriction on fishing and the consequent effect on trade and the fact that the LEP which was promised to help the affected communities and households diversify their livelihood activities has not started. The men expressed that they will have no choice than to migrate to areas where they can farm or fish if situations persist since those are the only skills they have. But if they get trained in other occupations which will flourish then they will stay in the settlement. The women were of the view that they were willing to go out and buy from other farmers and sell at the nearest city, Wenchi, until they are given the skill training through the LEP. But they will also need assistance in the form of a start up capital. These short and long term changes in livelihood activities have the ability to change gender roles in the community and household. While women have been known to sell in neighbouring towns and men live with their families as heads of households and as the main bread winners, the displacement is about to cause men to move out of their homes, women to become heads of households and work as the breadwinner of the family. These changes when they occur will cause the structure of the community to be mainly the elderly, women and children. Additionally, these changes may bring conflict in the family. According to Hussein and Nelson (1998) these changes in gender roles caused by livelihood diversification can be a source of inequality and conflict. This is because some diversification may favour either the male or the female. In the case of Gyama New Settlement the females have a high potential

of diversifying the commodities they sell, or, they just have to look for new farmers and fishermen to get these products they used to sell. This has a very high potential of inflating inequality, jealousy and conflict between husbands and wives and between men and women in the community.

Furthermore, at Bui Village, the participants in the discussion express the fact that living in a larger community than they have been used to will lead to changes in lifestyle. An elder expressed how the influx of people will influence their children and bring lot of transformation in their culture. One inference I can make with respect to gender roles is that, women may become more empowered. In that they will be ready to get into things which have formally been considered as male when they observed other women work together with men. In the field, the women of Bui Village were open in the homes but they were not part of the meeting with the resettlement official, which I think, is because of the social order. But this is likely to change with the influx of people and new cultures.

7.5 Livelihood Transformations

According to the World Commission on Dams (WCD), an estimated global total of 40 to 80 million dam settlers have rarely had their livelihoods restored (WCD as cited in De Wet, 2006). The sustainable livelihoods literature categorizes the main livelihood strategies which households pursue as livelihood diversification, agricultural intensification, and migration (Ellis, 1999). These are the same strategies used by rural communities during and after crisis in sustaining their livelihoods.

According to the affected people of Bui Village and Gyama New Settlement, livelihood transformations are sure to happen because they have seen that living in a city, they will not be able to continue with their usual way of life. Fishermen have realized that without the river overflowing its banks fish multiplication is almost impossible. The lands offered to affected persons eligible to land compensation have been identified to be of poor quality and the shifting cultivation farming practice of these farmers is no more possible since they now have limited and fixed lands. Furthermore, trade is on hold and picking forest products will not be possible after inundation, since the portions of the Bui forest reserves the people could access will be inundated. A livelihood transformation programme has been identified and planned for the

affected people by BPA as LEP. However, the implementation process has been changed, and this has had adverse impacts on the lives of the settlers at Gyama New Settlement and the fishermen in all the affected communities. Farmers also have expressed concern over the delay in implementing the LEP since they are not receiving support for their farming activities.

An immediate issue about livelihood is the number of years of assistance between the period right after resettlement and the period of stability. The monthly income support, which the people were told by BPA will last for two years before resettlement was changed to one year after resettlement. This coupled with the above issues have adversely affected the lives of the displaced. However, all affected persons are eager to receive assistance to comfortably change their livelihood activities, which they anticipate will change their lives for the better. However, if they are not assisted they foresee an adverse transformation in their livelihoods' based on current levels of assistance. All affected respondents agreed that their livelihood activity must be restored and enhanced in order to have a positive livelihood transformation. Hence, everyone is anticipating a good support from BPA to achieve this. However, almost all affected persons are not sure about their future due to the continuous changes in the plans made and the inconsistencies in the information given by BPA officials, and also since the resettlement is still on-going.

Due to the low utilisation of their ability to participate, the affected people are not able to cause the government and for that matter officials of BPA to work out the resettlement process in the way that will be in their favour and help them restore and if possible improve their lives through the livelihood transformation activities or options available. Elders from Bui Village and Senchi express their disappointment in the fact that when the government owes a citizen it is almost impossible for the citizen to get what is due him or her. However, the government gets whatsoever it requires from a citizen easily. The affected people of Bui Village are negotiating with BPA through the knowledge they received through GDD activities. GDD has also been following what is happening at Bui closely. However, they are not able to speak on behalf of the people. Additionally, since the affected people and the GDD have not formed a coalition, it has made it impossible for the training and knowledge the affected people receive from the GDD to be used effectively. BPA is having more authority over the affected people; hence the bargaining power of the affected people is very low. An official of BPA stated clearly, that they know of

GDD. However, no NGO can tell them what to do. It is sad to know that these officials think they are being told what to do instead of realising that there is the need for the rights of the affected people to be respected in order for their livelihoods to be restored. When asked about protecting rights of the affected people, an official of BPA responded that they have rights as all Ghanaians. However, this is not how the affected people see it, they stated that BPA officials do not respect them, they have taken them for granted and have infringed on their rights completely. The people added that, BPA officials have made them see that the dam is more valuable to them than they the people.

7.6 Concluding Discussion

With the above assessed impacts, an important and laudable idea is the fact that the Ghanaian constitution recognises the importance of societies, people and their culture. Hence, the constitutional limitation that any project which affects people must have a resettlement aspect. A lot of awareness on the need to protect minority, indigenous and vulnerable groups have been made all over the world and it is a good sign to see developing nations, although not having all resources to resettle people very comfortably, adhering to these advises. Hence, as a result of the resettlement these communities will continue to be in existence although not as they used to live. However, it is more than clear that the process of reducing or avoiding the adverse impacts of forceful resettlement on the affected people at Bui has so far not been the best. More attention is needed in the area of strong political will and institutional restructuring to ensure that the policies made are carried out successfully.

The existence of the affected communities and households also brought into focus the need for affected persons to be lifetime beneficiaries of the project, as proposed by an elder of Bui, an official of VRA, De Wet (as cited in Pankhurst & Piguët, 2009) and Kalitsi (2003). They all argue that onetime compensation is not enough since it is based on market value of the property. The above discussion with the impact of forced displacement has revealed that it is an issue of human right for the people affected to be lifetime beneficiaries since the level of danger the displacement exposes them to is very great. No wonder it was said by the official of VRA that some of the affected people of the Akosombo dam after years without compensation and their livelihoods kept diminishing in value were frustrated and some had died of the pain and

disappointment. However, proper plans must be made regarding accountability and transparency concerning the benefits which will be given to the affected communities. This is because some compensation paid on community lands have been embezzled by chiefs and elders in some VRA settlements under the Akosombo project.

An elder of Bui expressed the need for an educational fund to be established for the younger and unborn generations. He explained that their visit to the Akosombo resettlements revealed that the number of employees from the settlements in VRA is insignificant, and the few working in the company are in the lower ranks because of their low level of education. Hence, since their village is under such great transformation, and even his generation' livelihood activities are being changed, the future of the children will suffer if they do not have good education as is happening in the VRA settlements. Higher education will help the affected people to gain a greater bargaining power when there is need for negotiations to be made, since there will be people from the affected community who can represent them better at meetings. Additionally, an educational fund will help diversify the livelihood activities of households with the coming generations, which will be more secured than the current livelihood activities in the community.

The above revelations sum up the fact that the forceful resettlement at Bui has done more harm than good to communities and households. Hence, if the necessary intervention for livelihood restoration for the affected people is not properly carried out, these people will suffer in many areas of their lives, most especially the above mentioned areas, and every gender and age group will have its fair share of the suffering. It is also important to note that the hardship is severe on the first settlers and settlers on foreign lands than the affected people on indigenous land and those yet to be settled. Additionally, most of the first settlers of the BHP resettlement project (Gyama New Settlement) are thinking of migrating if the current situation persists. If this happened then as Kalitsi said regarding the Akosombo issue I say that the tax payer's money will be wasted and the lives of some hundreds destroyed.

8 Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Suggestions

According to De Wet (2009, p.41) in the 1950's with the exceptions of countries such as Brazil, India and China, it was the first time of countries such as Ghana, Zambia and Togo to build up their resettlement administrative structures and experience. Expert missions or 'helicopter anthropology' cannot close that gap, as there is no substitute for the local development of institutional capacity. This was the prime reason for this study, thus to find out how much Ghana has learnt from the Akosombo dam with regards to forced resettlement and how effectively these lessons have been transformed into creating institutions and building capacities for subsequent resettlements to be successful.

After evaluating and assessing the RPF for Bui and the impact of the resettlement on the affected people, it has become clear that Ghana still have a long way to go in transforming the lessons it has learnt in forced resettlement into policies and practices. Inferring from the analysis above as to which theory is at work under the forced resettlement process on-going at Bui, it is clear that two theories are in operation, the alternative development theory and that of the modernisation theory. Attributes of the alternative development theory is found in the plans, rules and regulations of the constitution of Ghana, lessons learnt from Akosombo, World Bank OPs (4.12) and the RPF. However, the implementation process shows that the modernisation development approach is at work, operating right from the government down to the local community of the affected persons have hindered the agency of the affected persons to be used in influencing decisions to their benefit. Going by the analytical framework used, the above situation is proved through the following:

Firstly, forced resettlement as discussed in the theory section is accompanied by many adverse effects, hence the World Bank OP (4.12), lessons learnt from Akosombo and the Ghanaian law requirement are all structured towards avoiding or reducing the adverse effects. However, from the analysis above, although these policies, constitutional rules and advice are available, it was realised that the institutional processes at Bui has resulted in the overall goal of using the resettlement to improve the lives of the affected people unrealised. The state, which is supposed to ensure that the rights of the citizens are upheld by rigorously enforcing the rules it has made, has not played its role effectively. The affected people have not been duly consulted and given the platform to effectively participate in order to influence the decisions made. They

have been relegated to the background and positioned at the receiving end instead of being key participants in an issue which is about their lives. I will equally say that the affected people have also not been forceful in making their voices heard and their views respected. The people have been calm in their approach because they feel they do not have power over the state. They stated plainly how the state can get whatever it wants from citizen but not the other way around. There is therefore the need for good governance, true justice, equity and proper use of power if forced resettlement should come out successfully. Because, without the affected people participating, to influence decisions, wrong decisions are made and the risk of wasting money is great. The state must realise that cheating its citizens by not empowering them to access what is rightfully theirs will not bring about improvement in the nation, and this virtually leave the whole state undeveloped. There is no need for the state to cheat on itself, for the state is the people and the people the state.

Secondly, the situation at Bui from the analysis shows that the affected people are having an unsustainable livelihood. This is because they have not been able to cope or recover from the crisis of their displacement. None of the three major livelihood activities of farming, fishing and trading and their corresponding assets of fertile farmlands and fishing grounds have been restored after two years of resettlement. Concurrently, income support given to the people is for a year and the daily wage was less than USD0.50 per person. From the interviews and discussions, the sole issue of the lack of opportunity to participate, and poor consultation in the planning and implementation of such decisions, is the root cause of this problem. The situation at Bui portrays the fact that officials of BPA do not know the desires of the affected people. They do not know what the people want to do with their resources left and how they want to strategise their lives after being displaced in order to restore and improve their lives. Hence, while the people are expecting and thinking in one way, BPA is thinking and working in another way. This has resulted in the people feeling less important than the project while resettlement officials think the people are opportunists and ingrates.

Thirdly, compensation has been used as a means to restore and improve the lives of the affected people. However, it was realised during the field study that the compensation package is not adequate. The compensation lands are of poor quality, new farmland preparation assistance insufficient, crop compensation has not been paid, host communities do not know how much of

their lands have been acquired to know the compensation due them, LEP has not started, no optional ground for fishing and many more. In addition, compensation is planned to be one time and it is based on market value. Studies have shown all over the world, including Akosombo, that one time compensation at market value is highly inadequate compared to the loss and hardship suffered by dam affected people. This situation also brings out the importance of adequate consultation and participation of affected people when planning and implementing resettlement. From the interviews, the affected people express their desire to be lifetime stakeholders in the benefits accrued from the dam. However, BPA officials are adamantly against this because they have not given the people attention to listen to their concerns for such claims. The RPF also does not mention the possibility of affected people becoming lifetime stakeholders in the project because they did not actively engage the people in the planning process. Also I think using the lessons of Akosombo to plan for Bui was just a mere statement because the issue of the hardship suffered by dam affected people and the need for them to be lifetime beneficiaries was stated explicitly by Kalitsi.

In summary, dwelling on lessons learnt from Akosombo and the world over, effective participation especially by the affected communities in the planning and implementing process have been understood as the most intelligent means of achieving successful forced resettlement. Participation of affected people has the ability to save the tax payer's money, and the lives of the affected people from being destroyed and an opportunity to develop rural and indigenous populations since they are those mostly affected in dam construction. Hence, if Ghana hopes to achieve progressive development, with the population and infrastructure it must ensure that it respects and upholds its citizen's rights. This is because it has been realised that the international human right laws, which are to protect the internally displaced are meaningless if the state of the people affected is not ready to do so. The state has a duty to protect the rights of its citizens and also empower them to demand justice as their right and not as charity. The future is now; Ghana must therefore begin realising these rights progressively, taking deliberate and concrete steps. The right of non-discrimination I think is the best to begin with, since the people affected are many times not involved because they are thought of as rural folks without much education and current information on what is best to be done during force resettlement. However, the evaluation of the situation at Bui above has proved otherwise.

8.1 Research Challenges and Potential Research Areas

This research has faced a number of challenges beginning with situations in the field which has affected the analysis and the results of this study. The following paragraphs explain these challenges showing how they have opened avenues for further studies.

Firstly, my inability to undertake household interviews restrained me from undertaking an in-depth assessment of the impacts of the planning and implementation process of the Bui RPF. Hence only four areas were identified as potential long and short term impacts and no unique examples were given. This opens the opportunity for future research in the area to undertake an in-depth study using household interviews to gain specific and concrete examples. Doing this, I believe, will result in many impacts being identified.

Secondly, the Bui Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) could have made the evaluation of the planning and implementation process of the RPF more concrete, especially regarding the implementation process of the RPF. Since the RAP was referred to sparingly in the RPF. However, my inability to obtain this document restricted me from using it alongside the RPF. Another study can take on this, using the RAP concurrently with the RPF in evaluating the Bui forced resettlement.

Thirdly, the study areas were numerous because the affected areas under the Bui resettlement had not gone through the planning and implementing process as stipulated in the RPF. Gyama New Settlement could have been the sole study area at Bui. However, it was said to be temporal from the start which was not part of the RPF plan and was being turned into a permanent settlement using the RPF after a year and half. Hence, I saw a need to include Bui Village since it was going through the planning process as planned, and Gyama New Settlement was also going through the implantation process as planned in the RPF. While identifying potential short term impacts of the RPF planning and implementation, Gyama New Settlement and Bui village were chosen. In order to project the potential long term impacts, experiences from the forty five years of resettlement were drawn from Akosombo. Lessons learnt from Akosombo were also used as a guide for the Bui resettlement, hence the Dasaase visit. Hence, obtaining more in-depth empirical information should be helpful in providing more nuanced information on impacts.

Fourthly, the theory section which doubles up as a literature review is voluminous and points out many challenging issues. Not all these issues raised were used in-depth in analysing the data gathered for this study, but they have guided my work.

Other potential research areas on forced resettlement in Ghana may be said to include a comparison between state and private institution organised resettlement. Another area is to access the impact difference of forced resettlement between first settlers and subsequent settlements under the same project. The final is to access the differential impacts of forced resettlement between settlers on their indigenous land and settlers as migrants or on migrant land. An ethnographic research approach appears potentially useful in this regard as learned from this research work.

References

- Adu-Aryee (1993).** Resettlement in Ghana: From Akosombo to Kpong. In Cernea, M. M. and Guggenheim, S. E. (Eds.), *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement: Policy, Practice, and Theory* (pp. 133-151). West view press, Inc.
- Cernea, M. M (2008).** Reforming the foundations of involuntary resettlement: Introduction. In Cernea, M. M and Mathur, H. M. (Eds.), *Can compensation prevent impoverishment? Reforming resettlement through investments and benefit-sharing* (pp. 1-13). Oxford University Press.
- Chambers, R. (1970).** *The Volta resettlement experience*. Paul mall press, London.
- De Wet, C. (ed). (2006).** *Development-induced displacement. Problems, Policies and People*. Berghahn books.
- De Wet, C. (2009).** Why do things often go wrong in resettlement projects? In Pankhurst, A. and Piguet, F. (Eds.) (pp. 35-48), *Moving people in Ethiopia: Development, displacement and the state*. Boydell and Brewer Ltd.
- Ellis, F. (1999).** *Rural livelihood diversity in developing countries: evidence and policy implications*. London, United Kingdom.
- Ellis, F. (2000).** *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, F. and Freeman, H. A. (2005).** *Rural Livelihoods and Poverty Reduction Policies*. London, United Kingdom: Routeledge.
- ERM (2007).** Resettlement Planning Framework for the Bui Hydropower Project. Prepared by the Environmental Resources Management, in association with SGS Environment. Approved and signed by Eamonn Barrett for and on behalf of Environmental Resources Management. On the 19 January, 2007.
- Funds for Volta River Project. (1961, August 16).** *Ghana Today*, Vol.5, No. 13. Published by the information section of the Ghana office, 13 Belgrave Square, London, pg. 1.
- Gyau-Boakye, P. (2001).** "Environmental Impacts of the Akosombo Dam and Effects of Climate Change on the Lake Levels." *Environment, Development and Sustainability* 3 (March 2001): 17-29.
- Hickey, S. And Mohan, G. (Eds). (2004).** *Participation: from tyranny to transformation? Exploring new approaches to participation in development*. London, U. K: Zed Books Ltd.

- Hussein, K. And Nelson, J. (1998).** Sustainable livelihoods and livelihood diversification. Brighton, Michigan (USA): IDS
- Jaratney, K.A. et al. (2007).** *Code of Practice for Livelihood Analysis*. FONT, Colombo.
- Kitchin, R. And Tate, N. J. (2000).** *Conducting research into human geography: Theory, methodology and practice*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Lund, R. (2009).** *Online Lecture: Development-induced Displacement and Resettlement: an introduction to the concept, magnitude, impacts and dilemmas*. Trondheim, Norway: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.
- McDowell, C. (Eds). (1996).** *Understanding impoverishment: the consequences of development-induced displacement*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Berghahn books.
- Mikkelsen, B. (2005).** *Methods for development work and research: A New Guide for Practitioners (2nd ed)*. New Delhi, India: SAGE publications Pvt Ltd.
- Moxon, J. (1969).** *Volta: Man's greatest lake: The story of Ghana's Akosombo dam*. London, United Kingdom: The Pitman press.
- New homes for 80,000. (1963, September 11).** *Ghana Today*, Vol.7. No. 14. Published by the information section of the Ghana office, 13 Belgrave Square, London.
- Obosu-Mensah, K. (1995).** *Ghana's Volta resettlement scheme: The long-term consequences of post-colonial state planning*. Bethesda, United States: International Scholars Publications.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2001).** *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications.
- Quartey, E. L (1976).** There is need for realistic appraisal. *The Volta Scope*, March 1976, Vol. 2 No. 22. Pg. 2, 7.
- Scudder, T. (2005).** *The future of large dams: Dealing with social, environmental, institutional and political cost*. London, United Kingdom: Published by Earthscan.
- Silverman, D. (2007).** *A very short, fairly interesting and reasonably cheap book about qualitative research*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE publications Ltd.
- Tillmar, M. (2002).** *Swedish Tribalism and Tanzanian Agency. Preconditions for trust and cooperation in a small-business context* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Linkoping, Linkoping, Sweden.

Turkson, E. (2009, June 5). Residents of VRA resettlement appeals to government. *The Daily Graphic*, p.9.

Turton, D. (2009). Refugees and Forced Resettlers. In Pankhurst, A. and Piguet, F. (Eds.) (pp. 23-34), *Moving people in Ethiopia: Development, displacement and the state*. Boydell and Brewer Ltd.

University of Ghana to undertake Volta Basin research. (1963, April 4). *Ghana Today*, Vol.7. No.4. Published by the information section of the Ghana office, 13 Belgrave Square, London, pg. 11.

Volta Basin Research Project. (1963, June 5). *Ghana Today*, Vol.7. No. 7. Published by the information section of the Ghana office, 13 Belgrave Square, London.

VRP contract put into operation. (1961, August 30). *Ghana Today*, Vol. 5, No. 14. Published by the information section of the Ghana office, 13 Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1, p. 3.

Volta River Authority (2003). *42 Annual Report and Accounts*. Accra, Ghana.

Wax, R. (1985). *Doing Fieldwork*. Midway Reprint. New York.

Internet Sources

Anane, M (2010). In “*Courting Mega disaster: Bui Dam May Cause Havoc*”. Global 500 Forum. United Nations Environment Programme:

Available: http://www.global500.org/feature_4.html 19.01.10.

BPA (2011). In *Environmental Activities: Salvage Archaeological*.

Available: http://www.buipowerauthority.com/sal_arch.htm 27.03.11

BPA (2011). In *Resettlement Package*.

Available: http://www.buipowerauthority.com/res_package.htm 27.03.11

Cernea, M. M. (2004). *Impoverishment risk, risk management, and reconstruction: A model of population displacement and resettlement*. Paper presented at the UN Symposium on Hydropower and Sustainable Development in support of, and as background to, the Keynote Paper prepared by the same author in the set of sessions of the Symposium devoted to the Social Aspects of Hydropower Development. Beijing, October 27-29 2004. George Washington University, Washington, D.C., USA.

Available: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/energy/op/hydro_cernea_population_resettlement_backgroundpaper.pdf 26.04.11

De Wet, C. (2000). *The experience with dams and resettlement in Africa: Dams and Development: A new framework for decision-making.* World Commission on Dams. Prepared for Thematic Review 1.3: Displacement, Resettlement, rehabilitation, reparation and development. Department of Anthropology, Rhodes University, South Africa.

Available: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTINVRES/214578-1112885441548/20480082/ExperiencewithDamsandResettlementinAfricasoc199.pdf> 26.04.11

Diemer, A. et al. (2008). *The World we live in and the world we want to live in. Bui Dam.* Volume 1, 2nd Edition. 26.04.11

Available:

http://www.elon.edu/docs/e-web/academics/elon_college/environmental_studies/Visions2.pdf

Erdelez, S. et al. (eds). (2005). *Theories of Information behaviour: A researcher's Guide. Network Gatekeeping Theory.* Unpublished manuscript, The Information School, University of Washington, Washington, USA.

Available: <http://ekarine.org/wp-admin/pub/NGT.pdf> 26.04.11

FMO, (2010). In *What is forced migration?*

Available: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/whatisfm.htm> 24.11.10

Geran, J. M. (n.d). In *Social capital and coping crisis: A theoretical framework linking social capital networks and sustainable livelihoods.* Working Paper No. 1

Available: <http://www.aae.wisc.edu/coxhead/projects/lamyai/wp2.pdf> 22.04.11

GHA, (n.d). In *Upgrading of N1 highway between Tetteh Quarshie Interchange and Mallam Road Junction, Accra, Ghana. Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), Lot 2. P. 18*

Available:

<http://mida.gov.gh/site/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/ResettlementActionPlanN1Lot2.pdf>

26.04.11

Gordon, C. (2006). “*Dams and Development Ghana*”. Background Paper for The Multi-stakeholder consultation process for dams development in Ghana. Volta Basin Research Project, University of Ghana.

Available: <http://new.unep.org/dams/files/Country%20Dialogues/BackgroundStudyGhana.pdf>
[17.04.2011](#)

International Rivers (2011). Development-Induced displacement. *Three Gorges Dam*. Training on the protection of IDPs

Available: <http://www.internationalrivers.org/china/three-gorges-dam> 07/04/11 26.04.11

Kalitsi, E. A. K. (2003). *Problems and prospects for hydropower development in Africa*. Paper presented at the workshop for African energy experts on operationalizing the NGPAD energy initiative. 2-4 June, 2003. Dakar, Senegal.

Available: <http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/energy/op/nepadkalitsi.pdf> 26.04.11

Kalitsi, E. A. K. (2004). *Social aspects of hydropower. Perspectives and experiences: Hydropower development and resettlement (Ghana)*. Paper presented at the United Nations Symposium on Hydropower and sustainable Development. Beijing International Convention Centre. 27-29 October, 2004.

Available: http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/energy/op/hydro_kalitsi.pdf 26.04.11

Moss, S. (2011, April 18). AU: Live below the line – Why \$2? *The global poverty project*.

Available: <http://www.globalpovertyproject.com/blogs/view/345> 18.04.11

Scudder, T. (2003). *The Aswan High Dam case*.

Available: <http://www.hss.caltech.edu/~tzs/Aswan%20High%20Dam%20case.pdf> 25.03.11

Scudder, T. and Gay, J. (n.d). In *A Comparative Survey of Dam-induced Resettlement in 50 Cases*.

Available: <http://www.hss.caltech.edu/~tzs/50%20Dam%20Survey.pdf> 25.03.11

Sutcliffe, C. (2009). *Interviews with People to be affected by Bui Dam: A field report*

Available: <http://www.internationalrivers.org/files/Bui%20Field%20Report.pdf> 26.04.11

World Bank Group (2001). *Operational Policy on Involuntary Resettlement, OP4.12*.

Available: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/EXTPOLICIES/EXTO>

[PMANUAL/0.,contentMDK:20064610~pagePK:64141683~piPK:64141620~theSitePK:502184,00.html](http://www.wrm.org.uy/contentMDK:20064610~pagePK:64141683~piPK:64141620~theSitePK:502184,00.html) 26.04.11

WRM (2001). *Ghana: What's hidden behind the Bui dam project?* Bulletin No. 46, May 2001.

Available: <http://www.wrm.org.uy/bulletin/46/Ghana.html> 26.04.11

Appendices

Appendix 1: A Structured Open-Ended Questions and Interview Guide (Bui)

Questions to help answer research question one (documentary analysis) – What does the relocation plan of Bui propose concerning assets (land, crops, and housing), services (roads, water, electricity, hospital and schools) and rights (participation, compensation, seeking redress, accountability and equality)? How different is it from the Akosombo plan?

A. Background Information

1. When did the resettlement start?
2. Is the resettlement scheme part of the main hydroelectric project?
3. What are the goals of the resettlement project?
4. How far has preparations advanced to ensure the attainment of these goals?
5. Are there people already living in the resettlement area? Are they ready to receive those to be displaced? What provisions have the plan made to ensure they live in harmony?
6. Is the culture of those to be displaced and the indigenous people homogenous or closely related?
7. What is the nature of the traditional authority among those to be displaced and the indigenes of the resettlement area?
8. What is the structure of the communities and how does it affect the provisions in the plan?

PLAN

1. Is the resettlement scheme part of the main hydroelectric project?
2. What does the plan say concerning farming and fishing?
3. What measures has the plan to avoid or bring to the barest minimum conflict of authority or power?
4. What does the plan say concerning the indigenes in profiting from the new projects?
5. What was the process of land identification and request in the resettlement plan?
6. What is the size of the land to be given to those to be displaced and on what bases was the decision made?
7. What social amenities are available in the resettlement area? What plans are in place to boost these facilities so that indigenes and those to be displaced are comfortable?
8. Has there been an earlier report which has been refused because it was considered expensive? Where cost cut and what was the percentage?
9. Was there a delay in land acquisition for resettlement? What cause it if yes?

10. Was the feasibility and survey of the resettlement area study completed before the allocation process?
11. How is the cost of the project shared? What are the challenges involved?
12. How practical or feasible are the policies and programmes in place compared to that of Akosombo and Kpong?
13. Flexibility of plan

RESETTLEMENT OFFICERS

Preamble: I am interested in knowing what the resettlement plan contains and how these are being achieved and the challenges in the process. I will ask you a series of questions relating to this issues and I will treat your response confidential and for academic purposes.

B. Livelihood

1. Do the proposed projects if any conform to the way these farmers and fishermen traditionally go about their work? If not why the changes? Are the people happy about the change?
2. Are there plans on farming and fishing? What about other types of work?
3. Are there plans of establishing projects to support the economic activities of the people? What are the reasons for that?

C. Assets (Land, Houses, Farm, Fishes)

1. What does the plan say concerning housing? In terms of cost, process of construction, allocation and ownership.
2. How was land acquired for the resettlement programme?
3. What is the system of landownership among the people to be displaced and the indigenes of the resettlement area?
4. Did the government requested for his interest in expropriating the land? What was the prerequisite for compensation for those affected and how much time was allotted?
5. What are the problems associated with the process of expropriation and compensation and what are the consequences of this in the future?
6. How does the national land registration law under PNDC Law 152 which took effect on April 22, 1986 affect compensation payment?

D. Rights:

These are the choices and treatments entitled to people for being humans and citizens of Ghana. These include protection of their lives and properties, seek redress, enjoy social amenities and the like.

1. Were these people treated in accordance with the international human rights laws?
2. What are the rights and responsibilities of those to be displaced and the indigenes? What provisions have been made to secure these rights and execute their responsibilities?
3. Does the plan contain any conscious efforts at realizing some human rights?
4. Does Ghana have plans of seeking for assistance to help her safe guard the rights of her people?

5. Assess to channels of influence

E. Participation

1. What opportunities are available for those to be displaced to participate in the planning and execution of proposed projects?
2. Is there any influence from NGOs or pressure groups?

F. Access to services

1. What are some of the services provided in the resettlement area?
2. How sustainable are these services in terms of payment and maintenance of the facilities?

G. Future challenges

1. What are some of the challenges settlers are facing now in the resettlement process?
2. What are some of the challenges you foresee in the future considering current happenings?

QUESTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE

Preamble: Am interested in knowing how the resettlement process have changed the lives of the displaced, how they are adopting to these changes and the challenges in the process. I will ask you a couple of questions and will treat your answers to these questions confidential and for academic purposes.

A. Background

1. What do you know about the relocation plan?

B. Livelihood

1. Are you going to stay at the new place? Why?
2. Will you change your economic activity? How and why?
3. What do you know about the area you are to be resettled? How did you get this information?
4. What is the relationship of your community with that of the area you will be resettled?
5. What do you desire to see in your new area?

C. Assets (Land, Houses, Farm Produce Etc)

1. What are your properties?
2. What do you know concerning the quality and quantity of land, housing, farming, fishing, water and other things you will be compensated with?
3. Would you like your assets to be replaced or loose or be given cash? Why?
4. Are you satisfied with the compensation plan?

D. Rights

1. Did you freely accepted to be relocated? How did you made this choice and why?
2. Do you think the government has sacrificed your rights for the good of the rest?
3. Did you choose how you should be compensated? How?
4. Will you be compensated fully? In what way?
5. Are your rights being protected by the processes in place?
6. Is any system in place to help you seek redress if you realize your rights have been violated in anyway?
7. Are there NGOs and other pressure groups assisting you so your rights are not infringed upon? How do you see them and what are some of the things they have done so far?

D. Participation

1. How were you involved in the decision making process for the relocation programme?
2. Did you get to choose what is best for you in that process?
3. What do you think about the decision making process?

E. Access to Services

1. What facilities will be provided in the resettlement area?
2. How do you have access to these facilities?
3. Will you pay for these facilities? How much and how do you pay for it?
4. Are these facilities and its management convenient for you?

F. Future Challenges

1. What challenges do you see in the future concerning?
 - Farming
 - Fishing
 - Housing, electricity, water, roads
 - Compensation process
 - How do you think these challenges may be resolved?

CHIEFS

Preamble: I want to know how you participated in the resettlement process, how profitable the resettlement has been to your community. What are some of the challenges and how do you think these can be solved. I want to discuss with you some general topics. I will treat the answers you give me confidential and only for academics.

Topics for discussion: This covers the plan and the implementation process.

- Assets
- Access to services
- Participation
- Rights

- Livelihoods

INTERVIEW GUIDE (AKOSOMBO)

RESETTLEMENT OFFICER

Preamble: I would like to know some of the best activities in the in the Akosombo resettlement process, lapses you have identified, the challenges these lapses have cause and what activities are in place to solve these problems? This will be discussed in accordance with the topics below. Your answers will be treated confidentially and be used strictly for academic purpose.

Topics to be discussed: This covers the plan and the implementation process.

- Assets
- Rights
- Participation
- Livelihoods
- Services

CHIEFS AND ELDERS

Preamble: I would like some things the community is enjoying due to the resettlement, some of the problems with some of the projects in the area, the effects of these problems and how settlers are coping. This will be discussed in accordance with the topics below. Your answers will be treated confidentially and be used strictly for academic purpose.

- Assets
- Rights
- Livelihoods
- Participation
- Services

Appendix 2: The Bui Compensation Matrix

Project Impact	Eligible Groups	Compensation Policy	Other Measures
RESETTLEMENT MEASURES			
Assets			
1. Loss of structure: Housing, kitchens, other buildings. Livestock pens, fences.	Group 1	1. Building for building replacement in neighbouring rural areas under jurisdiction of the same paramount chief. 2. Or cash compensation based on original building at replacement value.	1. Building materials maybe salvaged from old housing to be utilised in new structures. 2. Transportation allowance to be provided on a household basis. 3. Replacement of buildings. Or 4. Cash compensation at replacement value and assistance in procurement of labour and materials in the construction of outbuildings.
2. Loss of tenancy/residence (if any identified)	Group 1	Cash payment of six months rent	1. Transportation allowance to be provided on a household basis. 2. Cash compensation for all fixed structures owned by the household.
3. Loss of enterprises <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shops/Traders • Others (Hairdressing, 	Group 1	1. Payment of profits for period of relocation for 6 months. 2. Replacement	1. Permit building materials to be salvaged for use in new structures.

Tailor)		compensation for assets which cannot be moved.	<p>2. Transportation allowance to be provided on an enterprise basis.</p> <p>3. Temporary structures to be provided until new structures have been built.</p>
4. Loss of arable land from permanent land acquisition	Groups 1 and 2	<p>1. Provided compensation to the stool/paramount chiefs (see legislative framework Section 5)</p> <p>2. Provision of nearby equivalent land in new location by stool</p>	<p>1. Provide equivalent customary land rights and transfer of land titles.</p> <p>2. Provide a transition allowance until alternative land is allocated.</p>
5. Loss of crops and trees	Groups 1 and 2	<p>1. Cash compensation for lost crops and trees. Compensation will be necessary for both the loss of the actual crop/tree as well as the income foregone due to lag times with replanting at new site.</p>	<p>1. Provided assistance with accessing farming inputs (seeds) and</p> <p>2. Provide skills upgrade/ training if farming methods will require to be altered due to nature of new land (use of irrigation, different soil fertility).</p> <p>3. See additional measures under Agricultural Assistance Programme (Group 3 eligible).</p>
6. Impact on vulnerable Groups	Group 1 and 2	<p>1. Additional transition allowance (10%) provided to vulnerable households.</p>	<p>1. Prompt payment of compensation early in the resettlement process.</p>

Source: ERM, (2007: 109)

Appendix 3: A document showing the Right of Entry

[REDACTED]

STATE LANDS ACT, 1962 (ACT 125)
BUI HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER PROJECT

RIGHT OF ENTRY

I [REDACTED]

of

hereby authorise the Government of the Republic of Ghana or its duly authorised officers to enter on my land at B. K. E. K. K. K. the subject of acquisition for the purpose of executing works in connection with or incidental, or ancillary to the above-named project, or any other works that the said Government may from time to time determine or propose subject to the following:

- (i) Payment of compensation in due course under the State Lands Act 1962 (Act 125), or
- (ii) Resettlement at a designated Resettlement township in due course, under the Bui Power Authority Act, or
- (iii) Both of the above as the case may be.

Dated this May day of 15 2008

.....
WITNESS TO SIGNATURE OR MARK

[REDACTED]
SIGNATURE OR MARK

Source: From an informant at Gyama New Settlement.

Appendix 4: A Document Showing the Temporal Relocation of the First Settlers

BUI HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER PROJECT
NOTICE OF TEMPORARY RELOCATION

Pursuant to agreement reached after consultations with our community on the above subject matter and the resultant NOTICE to vacate my house as a matter of urgency, I hereby confirm my agreement to move out or relocate from my present settlement at ~~.....~~ by March 1, 2008.

(i) To join my colleagues at Bui village where I shall build my own temporary house.

(ii) I acknowledge receipt of cash/materials/logistics valued at being assistance given me to build my temporary accommodation.

I understand and accept that my present relocation is temporary and that I will benefit from permanent Resettlement at a Resettlement Township in due course.

Dated this May day of 15 2008.

.....
WITNESS TO SIGNATURE/MARK

.....
SIGNATURE/MARK

Source: From an informant at Gyama New Settlement

Appendix 5: A News Paper Report of a Dispute between a Host and Settler Community



Source: Turkson, 2009.